

arrangements it is hoped to work out at Geneva, and requesting France "to take full account of the views expressed" during the Committee's seven-day debate. Voting: 24-28, with 20 abstentions. Opponents thought the resolution inadequate.

November 19: the Political Committee passed, against the French vote only, a resolution appealing to all Powers possessing atomic weapons, and others who might later manufacture them, to desist from further tests.

November 20: the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution, sponsored by 22 Afro-Asian countries, expressing "grave concern" at the French intention to conduct tests in the Sahara, and calling on France to refrain. Voting: 51-16, with 15 abstentions.

November 21: the General Assembly gave a more than two-thirds majority to a resolution appealing to all countries not to test nuclear weapons while talks are continuing for controlled cessation. Voting: 60-1 (France), with 20 abstentions, including Britain and the USA.

A resolution asking the three nuclear Powers to refrain from testing their weapons was passed by 78 votes to none.

● The French delegate at the UN, M. Jules Moch, made it plain on November 20 that his Government would ignore the demand to abandon the tests planned to take place "in the next few months."



Michael Randle, Chairman of the British Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, sends his first report from Africa on the protest against French nuclear tests.

This emerges from the explanations given on November 17 by M. Guillaumat, the Army Minister, and from details made known the following day by the French Defence Ministry.

The Prime Minister, M. Debré, speaking on November 18 in the debate on the military budget in the National Assembly, argued that the rebellion in Algeria was not merely an anti-French affair but involved France in a struggle on behalf of the free world.

He then endorsed increasing the credits designed to equip France with a nuclear striking force. For this 42,000,000,000 francs (about £30,000,000) are allocated—double the amount in last year's budget.

Most of it will go towards the French atomic bomb.

SAHARA PROTEST: MEETING THE PEOPLE

From MICHAEL RANDLE

THE warm welcome that has been accorded to the members of the international team proposing to enter the Sahara shows the possibilities of this opinion, not only against the proposed French test, but against the testing and production of nuclear weapons anywhere.

It could also prove an important example of non-violent direct action against imperialism.

The response to the protest group has come from every section of the population. In Kumasi men and women, many with babies strapped on their backs, crowded into the small Council Chamber and filled it to overflowing. They cheered when Bayard Rustin, the American negro who has spent a lifetime fighting racial discrimination and militarism in the USA, told them that coming to Ghana was indeed a homecoming to him.

All Brothers

His ancestors had been abducted from Africa and sold to slavery; now he was coming back to Africa to help fight against a newer form of imperialism.

Francis Hoyland followed. His skin might be a different colour from theirs, but his blood was the same colour. All men were brothers who must fight together against injustice and oppression wherever it occurred. Frontier regulations would be broken in our non-violent demonstration, but the fall-out from the bomb would not

part of a total programme of 100,000,000,000 francs, is allocated for the construction of 50 Mirage IV jet bombers. They will be capable of carrying an atomic bomb at twice the speed of sound, and the first are due off the production line in 1963.

Studies into a French intermediate range ballistic missile receive 10,000,000,000 francs.

The maintenance of the military effort in Algeria means that about 380,000 ground forces will continue to be stationed there in 1960. With other forces, about 500,000 men are, and will be, stationed in Algeria.

This is half the effective French military strength.

The other 500,000 men will be distributed in France (four-fifths), Germany and the French Community.

accorded to the members of the international French atomic testing area in the demonstration in crystallising African respect man-made barriers. People cheered again, deeply moved.

Later there was great excitement when Rev. Michael Scott appeared on the screen during a showing of the Aldermaston march film. Another meeting is now being arranged at the Town Hall in Kumasi to give more people an opportunity to attend.

While in Kumasi we also met the Asantehene, the traditional leader of the Ashanti people and one of the most important tribal chiefs of Ghana.

Later in the same day we spoke to the paramount chief at Kibi, some 80 miles from Accra. This fine tall chief, draped in the colourful, toga-like African costume, listened to us in silence. The room was in semi-darkness, lit only by two kerosene lamps, and he sat at one end of it on a high straight-backed throne and fondled his granddaughter who fell asleep on his lap.

When we spoke about non-violence he nodded his head gravely. Then he replied. It was good that we were making this protest; the people of Africa would remember it. It was good that we were going in a spirit of non-violence; where there was hatred nothing could be achieved.

Two days later we had an urgent call from him to attend an emergency meeting

Rev. R. R. Roseveare, has also supported the fund, and he took the chair at a public rally on Thursday, November 19, at the Accra West Arena.

Several thousand people, many bearing banners and placards, heard speeches from Mr. Gbedemah, the team-member Bayard Rustin and the Rev. Michael Scott. The latter told them that this was not an anti-French demonstration but a struggle for the honour and soul of France.

Slogans on the banners included (in French and English) "For the honour of France renounce the tests," and "France, heed the UN vote."

It was announced that several prominent Ghanaians, including Dr. Nkrumah, Mr. Gbedemah and Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh, the Asantahene of Ghana, had agreed to become sponsors of the project.

Mr. Gbedemah appealed for £9,000; half of this has now been received. The people of Ghana intend to ensure the success of the protest.

Trucks and equipment are now being bought, and the team intends to leave Accra on December 5, the anniversary of the All-African People's Conference.

Today (Monday) the Secretary-General of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, Mr. Joe-Fio N. Myer, called on trades unions throughout Africa to protest against the proposed French tests and to back the Sahara protest team.

Mr. Myer is also First Secretary of the All-African Trades Union Federation. He called on all African workers, especially those in the French Community, to demonstrate against the proposed tests.

He also made public that the All-African Trades Union Federation, which met in Accra from November 7-9, passed a resolution in support of the Sahara protest team.

● **Veteran American pacifist leader A. J. Muste left New York by air on Monday and was due in Accra the following day. He will act as co-ordinator of the project, maintaining communications between the team and the outside world.**

... AND IN LONDON

IN the House of Commons in London on November 19, Fenner Brockway, MP, told how he had just met the protest team in Accra:

"In this country (Britain) they are isolated people and most of the public would regard them as fanatics. When they reach Africa they are heroes, they are of the people, they are no longer the isolated individuals. My experience indicated how strong is the feeling in West Africa."

● ON BACK PAGE

GENERAL MARSHALL: AN OBITUARIAL NOTE—I

BEHIND THE TRIBUTES

By Professor Harry Elmer Barnes

When General George Marshall died on October 16 he received glowing obituaries in both the British and the American press. In this article Harry Elmer Barnes discusses what General Marshall's record was really like.

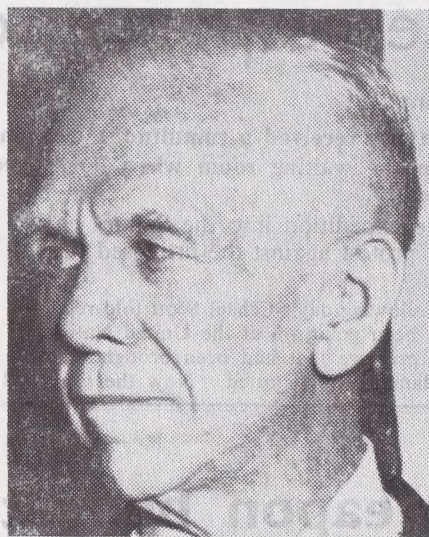
Harry Elmer Barnes is a historian and sociologist. His many publications include "Genesis of the World War" and "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace" which he edited. He has contributed several articles to Peace News on Pearl Harbor and the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima.

IT was somewhat paradoxical that, when popular excitement and indignation were at their height in the USA over the rigging and "fixing" of the American radio and television quiz programs, the death of General George Catlin Marshall passed without any comment on the rigging and "fixes" in which he participated between Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, and the Potsdam Conference of July-August, 1945.

Indeed, nearly all the comment on the General's death emphasized the rugged honesty and sterling character of the departed. It would have seemed that he richly deserved the tribute of former-President Truman to the effect that he was "the greatest living American" at the time of his retirement from active public service.

Yet the "fixes" and deceptions in which General Marshall participated were far more serious and disastrous to mankind than the quiz program scandals. The latter programmes never pretended to be anything more than entertainment, and the "fixing" probably increased the current enjoyment of them so long as the illusion of innocent omniscience endured. This is not to condone the deceit, but nobody was killed or maimed, no country was decimated and its lands laid waste, no millions were doomed to servitude, nor was the human race threatened with extermination.

The deception in which General Marshall was very directly involved at the time of Pearl Harbor led to the needless death of some 3,300 American soldiers, sailors and marines, weakened US forces in the Pacific, and might have led to irreparable disaster if the Japanese had pressed their success at Pearl Harbor as vigorously and intelligently as they might well have done. The decep-



General Marshall

material included or suggested in this publication, and even more precisely to those items which touch mainly on diplomatic and political history, for the "fixes" and deceptions in which General Marshall was involved fell mainly in these fields. I shall not pretend to deal with military matters as such. While my opinions in these fields are only those of an amateur, friends who rate highly as military experts assure me that General Marshall was veritably a genius in the area of logistics and that no single person played a more vital rôle in assuring Allied military victory in the second World War.

Nor have I ever taken much stock in the charge that General Marshall, after the war,

deliberately handed over China to the Communists. So far as this was done by Allied leaders, it was accomplished by President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at Yalta and earlier, long before General Marshall was sent on his mission to China or had assumed the office of Secretary of State.

So far as I am concerned, the main deceptions of General Marshall were limited chiefly to Pearl Harbor, promoting the Russophile policy of Harry Hopkins and President Roosevelt, the Yalta Conference, and the decision to use the atom bomb on the Japanese cities.

With respect to the Yalta Conference, the revisionist historians declare that General Marshall was one of the few military authorities who felt that the Japanese would valiantly defend their mainland to the bitter end, much as the Russians defended Stalingrad, and that hence Russia must be induced to enter the war to assist in this desperate and bloody military venture. He was almost alone among the American military men who held this belief.

Peace proposals

It is very likely that Marshall knew that President Roosevelt had received, before he left for Yalta, virtually the same Japanese peace proposals that were accepted in August, 1945, as the basis for the Japanese surrender. If so, he surely must have realised that the Japanese would not fight desperately rather than surrender, especially since these peace terms had the approval of the Japanese Emperor and were sent to President Roosevelt by General Douglas MacArthur with the recommendation that peace negotiations with the Japanese should be considered on the basis of these terms. They were transmitted to Roosevelt through the War Department, so Marshall could hardly have failed to know about them.

Marshall was certainly aware by February, 1945, that Japanese sea and air power had been utterly crushed and that the Japanese could be starved and bombed into surrender with very little loss of life. The chief military adviser to the President, Admiral Leahy, Admirals King, Nimitz and Halsey, who were in command of naval

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operations in the Far East, and Generals MacArthur, Willoughby and Arnold all agreed that Japan could quickly be starved into surrender by blockade and bombing without any need for an invasion.

The desperate fighting at Okinawa and Iwa Jima would not have been necessary, to say nothing of a frontal military attack on the Japanese mainland. Admiral Halsey was moving his ships around the Japanese mainland with relative impunity, shelling and bombing shore areas with virtually no effective resistance.

Marshall thus appears to have been the only top American military figure at Yalta who insisted that Russia be brought into the war at the earliest possible date, and was the man who had previously persuaded the Joint Chiefs of Staff to agree with this recommendation against their better judgment.

In the matter of the decision to use the atom bombs on the Japanese cities, it is the opinion of revisionist historians that General Marshall was probably the dominating figure among those who induced President Truman to order the bombing, although Truman was aware as early as May 1, 1945, that the Japanese were hopelessly beaten and were endeavouring to surrender on terms that were as submissive and humiliating to the Japanese as any civilised foe could reasonably demand. Marshall apparently went beyond even Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson in lining up with the American military group who wished to try out this devastating new toy, whether it was required to produce Japanese surrender or not. It is very likely that he was the

The 1959 Christmas

them so long as the illusion of innocent omniscience endured. This is not to condone the deceit, but nobody was killed or maimed, no country was decimated and its lands laid waste, no millions were doomed to servitude, nor was the human race threatened with extermination.

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The way to H-war

The assumption on which the bribery of Russia to enter the War was based produced the bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, 1945, the most scandalous atrocity of the second World War and acts which General J. F. C. Fuller has well stated would have disgraced Tamerlane or Genghis Khan.

It opened the way to a type of warfare which now threatens universal extermination, and to the Cold War which is surely the most momentous and menacing "fix" in the history of mankind. Launched through the collusion of President Harry S. Truman and Winston Churchill in March, 1946, to promote the political prospects of certain American and British political leaders, to regain for Britain the balance of power she had lost during the War, and temporarily to improve economic conditions in both countries, it may very well prove the deception which will end all deceptions.

General Marshall published no memoirs or other autobiographical material, although rumour has it that he prepared memoirs which will be published at a specified time after his death. This is no more than hearsay and may have no validity whatsoever. But he did give a series of interviews to Mr. John Sutherland (one of the Board of Editors) of the United States News and World Report, and the gist of these are published (in that magazine) in the issue of November 2, 1959. General Marshall specified that they should not appear until after his death.

I shall confine my comments mainly to

deceptions in which General Marshall was involved fell mainly in these fields. I shall not pretend to deal with military matters as such. While my opinions in these fields are only those of an amateur, friends who rate highly as military experts assure me that General Marshall was veritably a genius in the area of logistics and that no single person played a more vital rôle in assuring Allied military victory in the second World War.

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Successive surrenders

There is a widespread feeling among responsible American publicists and scholars that the greatest Allied mistake of the war lay in the successive surrenders to Russian policies and demands, especially at the war-time Summit Conferences at Casablanca, Quebec (two), Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. The full story of this and its disastrous results, most notably in the Cold War, is told in Mr. George N. Crocker's brilliant new book, "Roosevelt's Road to Russia" (Regnery, 1959).

Apparently, Harry Hopkins, the most powerful figure in the Roosevelt administration, next to the President himself, was the dominant personage in creating, adopting and furthering this pro-Russian policy, and he soon converted Mr. Roosevelt to it. General Marshall was a man of ambition and vanity as well as of great logistical ability. He realised that Hopkins would be the most effective aid he could have in getting the ear and approval of the President. Hence, he often took not only his political but also his military cue from Hopkins. Mr. Crocker observes: "General Marshall throughout the war was the unfailing spokesman, at the staff level, of the Roosevelt-Hopkins line of policy."

These surrenders to Russia relative to policy and territory not only made Russia the leading power in the Old World at the end of the war but also still exposes a whole segment of the human race to possible extermination through nuclear warfare if the cold war turns hot. For all of this Marshall surely bears a large, although not predominant, measure of responsibility.

To be continued

AN ENQUIRY BY DANILO DOLCI

Tales from Palermo's alleys

NORMAN SCOTNEY reviews

To Feed the Hungry. Enquiry in Palermo, Huxley. Translated from the Italian by

world seriously here in Palermo instead of cocking a snook at it, we couldn't go on living."

"About thirty of the citizens that "respectable" Palermo would rather forget about, and of the Mafia infested villages around, tell their stories, tell of incidents they have witnessed, of the experiences of their lives. Interspersed are factual pictures of the alleyways and hovels they inhabit. At the end are summarised the answers they give to such questions as "When you are unemployed how do you manage to live?" "Do you think that it is God's will that you are unemployed?"

Here then is the background to the great work of rehabilitation that Dolci and his helpers are undertaking in Western Sicily. Here you can see why he is right when he commits his life to working for these people and why all those Italians who say the Sicilians are lazy, workshy and unreliable are only justifying their inhumanity and, in fact, condemning themselves.

Thirty shillings may seem a great deal even for this well printed book with its nine pages of excellent photographs, but I am quite confident that if you do buy it you

by Danilo Dolci. Introduced by Aldous P. D. Cummins. Macgibbon and Kee. 30s.

will read it—unless a friend borrows it first—and remember some of its vivid pictures. I must add, though, that because these pictures have not been filtered or touched up it is not, in my judgment, a suitable present for young people.

Moral dynamite

Elizabeth Gray Vining reviews

The Flowers of Hiroshima, by Edita Morris. (Viking Press, \$3.50.)

THIS is a beautifully conceived, beautifully written novel that contains more moral dynamite than a dozen eloquent treatises on atomic warfare. Mrs. Morris, whose memorable "My Darling from the Lions" several years ago showed her to be a writer of sensitiveness and strength, has entered into the mind and spirit of a young Japanese woman, a victim of the bomb, with extraordinary understanding, and in doing so has created a work of art Japanese in its quality of restraint and suggestion. Her picture of the lovable young American who grows in spiritual stature in the course of the book's action is true and moving.

BASIL DELAINE'S COMMENTARY FROM JOHANNESBURG

The banished of S. Africa

IT could happen to you—if you were an African in South Africa.

You are at work. Two white policemen come up to you. They show you a piece of paper. "Come with us," they say.

In the semi-darkness of the police van you digest the order written on the paper.

You're banished! You've so many hours to "remove your person" to such-and-such a district in another province.

environment of banishment areas in the Union in the past 10 years.

MEN like Morris Ramoto, banished from Pietersburg to a barren district in Zululand, know what it is to live in hell.

Morris is an old man now. Banishment has affected his mind. He's built himself a mud hut on a hill and refuses to speak to anyone.

His wife, whom he hasn't seen for years, is an invalid and is slowly dying of a broken

PEACE NEWS, November 27, 1959—3

By Sybil Morrison

WAR'S EDUCATION

I am convinced that there is a God, all-powerful, looking after the destiny of this world. . . . The suffering and agony of war must exist gradually to educate us up to the fundamental law of "loving our neighbour as ourselves." When that lesson has been learned then war will cease to exist.—Field-Marshal Alanbrooke's Diary. "Triumph in the West," by Sir Arthur Bryant. (Collins).

IT is clear from reading the day by day entries in Lord Alanbrooke's diaries that he is a sincere and religious man; that his distress at the thought of thousands upon thousands of men engaged in a death struggle was genuine and agonising; that he was, as a human being, upright and honest according to his own standards; and that his own strong sense of personal responsibility for the outcome of the war against Hitler was eased by placing the burden upon God.

Plainly he believed that God would not permit the defeat of the Western Powers, nor it is to be assumed the defeat of the Western Powers' ally, Russia. He holds that the destiny of the world was in the hands of God and he was sure that His guiding hand led to victory.

To conclude, however, that it is only possible to learn how to love one's neighbour as oneself through the means of destroying and ruining him in war is in fact to believe that God uses evil means for his own ends. This is a monstrous and terrifying faith, as remote from the Christian ethic as any pagan worship of violence in appeasement to some revengeful god.

★

That Alanbrooke is a great soldier may be true, for it is to be assumed that a man does not rise to the rank of Field Marshal in his chosen profession for no reason; the writing in his diary is not particularly erudite but the words he uses convey his meaning with a journalistic aptitude for engaging a reader's attention.

Yet here is this extraordinary lack of any kind of logical reasoning; he believed that God must be on his side in the most monstrously destructive war of all time, and is



DANILO DOLCI

THE subject of this book is poverty.

Many books have something to say about poverty but of very few is it the real subject. There is a film "Bicycle Thieves" and a play by Gorki "The Lower Depths," but it is hard to think of a single book that conveys something of the actual feel of poverty. Perhaps those who have experienced something of its grinding misery are the last who can be expected to write about it. If they can they forget about it, and whilst in its grip can think of nothing else.

It is not that poverty is a depressing subject—it can be sad, it can even be tragic, but something so close to the fundamental human situation cannot be depressing because human beings are not depressing. In adversity they fight back—so long as they can—with humour and, as it seems to the "respectable" world around them, with a distorted view of life. The professional pickpocket, trained, educated, a graduate in the art—and in nothing else—commented to Dolci of his three years in the reformatory, "What sense was there in teaching me, a city chap, country stuff? I ask you, did they expect me to grow gherkins in St. Peter's Square?" The town crier, who has several tricks to outwit rival criers, and their supporting bands, says, "If we took the

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BRIDGING THE GAP

WE became accustomed to hearing of the need to bridge the gap between imports and exports in the British economy, but the problem seems to have been largely solved for the time being. Now it is the American Government which is wondering how to balance its budget, and suggestions are being made that those governments who have permitted American bases on their territory, should now pay for the privilege! We could tell them a better way to meet the difficulty.



An anonymous donor of £100 and six friends who have each sent £5, together with other no less welcome gifts, have helped to bridge the gap between the actual money received by the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund and the total hoped for. We are very grateful for this encouragement and justification of the hopes, which now reach out to the expectation that, with your help, we shall again reach the aim for this year.

But when you read of the number of shopping days to Christmas, please remember that you have only 44 days within which to send your contribution before our books close, and that we still need an average of £8 a day to bridge the fund gap.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year : £1,250
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Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Shephard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

The banished of S. Africa

IT could happen to you—if you were an African in South Africa.

You are at work. Two white policemen come up to you. They show you a piece of paper. “Come with us,” they say.

In the semi-darkness of the police van you digest the order written on the paper.

You're banished! You've so many hours to “remove your person” to such-and-such a district in another province.

The police van stops at your home. You tell your wife. There are tears. The kids want to know what mummy is crying for.

You grab some blankets, clothes, a treasured book, perhaps. You are on a train. Destination: the desert or the bush.

EIGHTY-FOUR Africans are today in exile in desolate areas in the Union.

None of them has been given reasons for banishment. None has been through the courts. None knows how long the exile period will last. None has the right of appeal.

They know they have committed no crime. But then a black-skinned person doesn't have to commit a crime to be exiled by the ruthless, sinister Government of Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd.

Section V of the Native Administration Act states: “The Governor-General may, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, order the removal of any tribe, or portion thereof, or any native from any place to any other place (or any province or district) within the Union upon such conditions as he may determine.”

But while in theory this punishment is ordered by the Governor-General, it is unsmiling, podgy-faced Mr. De Wet Nel, as Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, who actually authorises the banishment.

This is the order that sent Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, mother of 11 children, scurrying across the Basutoland border to a hide-out in the mountains.

This is the order that has sent four other African women to the soul-destroying en-

vironment of banishment areas in the Union in the past 10 years.

MEN like Morris Ramoto, banished from Pietersburg to a barren district in Zululand, know what it is to live in hell.

Morris is an old man now. Banishment has affected his mind. He's built himself a mud hut on a hill and refuses to speak to anyone.

His wife, whom he hasn't seen for years, is an invalid and is slowly dying of a broken heart at their home in Pietersburg.

Morris, a man who was probably indiscreet enough to criticise Government racial policy in his home town, hasn't much chance of leaving his hillside shack alive.

FREDERICK MITCHELL (57), a Coloured who had lived all his life in Tramway Street, Sea Point, Cape, had been worried for several months because “his” road was to be demolished under a scheme to make that part of Sea Point an area for Whites.

Frederick was a respected family man, a keen churchgoer, a hard worker. He could always be relied on to do a man a good turn. Everybody liked him.

The other day Frederick was found hanging from a tree.

Frederick was killed by the Group Areas Act. Frederick is dead because of apartheid.

A 27-YEAR-OLD White doctor is paying a big price for being friendly with his colleagues. He's been dismissed from a Johannesburg non-White hospital.

The trouble was that the doctor's friends were non-Whites.

The charge against him was that he and his wife had “fraternised with non-European members of the staff, including doctors, and had entertained them.”

The Gandhi National Memorial Fund in New Delhi has published “With the Kings in India,” a souvenir of Dr. Martin Luther King's visit to India in February and March, 1959. It can be obtained at Re 0.50 a copy from the Department of (two international postal coupons) Information and Public Relations of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi.

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Yet here is this extraordinary lack of any kind of logical reasoning; he believed that God must be on his side in the most monstrously destructive war of all time, and is able at the same time to declare that wars exist in order that men should learn to love their neighbours as themselves.

To suggest that it is possible to learn to love one's neighbour through the total violation of all the basic principles of brotherhood is not only a simple contradiction in terms, but a complete repudiation of the whole conception of God as a loving father.

When the heckling lawyer demanded of Jesus: “And who is my neighbour?” he was told the story of the Good Samaritan, who, finding a man set upon by thieves and lying wounded by the wayside, stayed to assist him rather than turn away his eyes and cross the road so as to pass by on the other side, as did the priest and the Levite.

It was “he who shewed mercy” who was held up as the prime example of one who loved his neighbour as himself. In war, to show mercy is the one quality that is not only not required, but must be ruthlessly suppressed.

Obliteration bombing and the atom bomb are incompatible with mercy and with love; ruthlessness, total and unrelenting, hatred, fierce and violent are the evil means required to fight a war. There is no possibility whatever that mercy and love can be the outcome of such evil; it is true that wars will cease when the lesson of loving one's neighbour has been learned, but it is also true that it will never be learned through the means of war.

Men dare not love each other in war; they dare not allow one humane thought; they dare not even think of the horrors they are perpetrating against their fellow men and must translate the word “men” into collective terms, such as brigades and divisions, cruisers and destroyers, bombers and Spitfires; they must think in pictures of “military objectives,” not of homes and hospitals, factories and offices; this is an essential part of war's education.

Let men think of “the enemy” as a neighbour and he will no longer be an enemy; this is the answer to war, and when it is learned wars will indeed “cease to exist.”

Cultural Pact

THE cultural agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States is great news. The Americans, who only a few years ago were afraid of every contact with Eastern Europe, are now going out of their way to establish such contacts. It is triumphantly announced that "My Fair Lady" will be shown in Moscow and the Soviet State Circus will perform in New York.

There is, of course, the question of what you mean by culture. A British book exhibition is, at present, being shown in Moscow. It was agreed, in advance, that no books on religious subjects were to be shown, but at the very last moment the Soviet Ministry of Culture removed 24 books by such authors as Lord Boyd Orr, Aldous Huxley, George Orwell, Michael Tippett and Bertrand Russell.

These are snags which show that it is not so easy to establish friendly contacts at one go, after years of mudslinging. The agreement is, however, a step in the right direction and a manifestation of the "thaw" in international relations. We can hope that the American and Russian peoples get to know each other better. Many Americans have travelled to Russia this year, and a still greater invasion of tourists is expected next year. It is only to be hoped that a similar number of Russians will be allowed to visit the United States.

How the tourists will react is another matter. Everybody seems to believe that a visitor who sees their social system in operation will be converted to it. I visited Berlin a few months ago and suggested to both East and West Berliners that they should make their divided city a permanent arena for peaceful competition between East and West. They were both enthusiastic at the suggestion of two permanent exhibition grounds where East and West could show each other what they were able to achieve. Everybody on each side seemed to believe that they could convert the other fellows simply by showing their systems and their results.

Adenauer in London

THE Berlin question will apparently not figure as a special item on the agenda of the "Summit" conference—though it was this very question which started the whole climb to the "Summit." It will be discussed only as part of the whole German problem. This was one of the few news items to be released after Dr. Adenauer's visit to London last week. Another piece of news was that Dr. Adenauer, at his press conference, mentioned the phrase "peace treaty" for the first time for a very long period. It had been mentioned the previous day in a speech by Mr. Khrushchev.

It seems as if the Adenauer-Macmillan talks solved very little on the political level. Adenauer is said to have received assurances regarding Germany's position in NATO; he is also said to have been reassured that Britain does not favour any disengagement. Many British politicians believed that the whole of NATO was in danger of collapse; they are not sure that it has been saved by the talks with Adenauer.

COMMENTARY

By

Bjoern Hallstroem

co-operation between the two European groups of the "Inner Six" and the "Outer Seven." Britain and Germany negotiated in the capacity of the most important countries in their respective groups.

What is not generally admitted in Britain is that Germany's economic strength is partly due to the fact that the country could devote its whole energy to peaceful reconstruction for many years, without being burdened by any armaments programme. Germany has now entered the arms race, but the average military contribution per head in Germany is still only half of that in Britain. Progress will, of course, be slowed up if and when Germany takes a greater part in the military programme.

The formation of the "Outer Seven" was announced in Stockholm immediately after the Adenauer-Macmillan talks. The hope was expressed, at the same time, that some co-operation between the two groups will be established.

The main reason for the establishment of a separate group of the "Outer Seven" is that the "Inner Six" is regarded as something more than a purely economic group. The member countries—who are all members of NATO at the same time—are speaking of military and political co-operation, which neutral countries such as Sweden, Switzerland and Austria cannot accept.

These countries are, however, very important trading partners of Britain. It is not generally known in Britain that Sweden is its greatest market in Europe and also the greatest supplier of raw materials. The old thesis that the industrial nations of the West derived their wealth from exploiting under-developed colonial territories does not seem to hold. The greatest trade is done between highly developed countries. (Britain has, for years, tried to make the United States its greatest trading partner).

As regards trade with Sweden, which is able to buy more British goods than most under-developed countries, it is worth while reflecting for a moment upon the reasons for Sweden's wealth. Sweden once had a large empire and lost all of it. After a period of re-adaptation (with great poverty) the country managed to gain a greater prosperity than ever. I have many times told British and French people in the colonies who were afraid of losing their economic position: "We also had an empire. We became really wealthy and prosperous only after having lost every bit of it."

Sweden's weapons

STILL, there have been dangerous demands in Sweden for her to take part in the arms race of the Great Powers

poll showed that 51 per cent of the people objected to Swedish nuclear weapons.

This has caused the (ruling) Social-Democrat and Liberal Parties to demand the postponement of any decision on a Swedish A-bomb. Both Parties, however, want a Parliamentary grant for unconditional research. The Agrarian Party is also said to favour this demand. This assures a large majority for a postponement of the decision—in the expectation that the Great Powers will agree to stop making nuclear weapons. The Socialists want the postponement fixed for a period of six years; the Liberals reject the demand for a time limit.

This demand is regarded as a compromise, and the struggle for complete rejection of Swedish atomic bombs will continue. Swedish atomic research has made great advances, and the Great Powers on both sides have shown considerable interest in it. Some people have been sentenced in recent years for having sold secrets to the Soviet Union. A Swedish atomic scientist has only recently accused two of his colleagues of having divulged details about a nuclear invention to a British scientist. This accusation is now being investigated by the Swedish police.

Aliens and visas

A RECENT debate in the British Parliament reminded us of the difficulty of abolishing war-time regulations. The debate was about the restrictions on aliens. The Home Secretary's powers in this respect are derived from an emergency law passed at the outbreak of World War I in 1914. They have just been renewed.

Most British people are unaware of the fact that every alien landing in the country is questioned on arrival in a way which no Britisher would stand up to. Statistics quoted in the debate show that an average of seven people a day are refused entry—they have to pay their passage back without being able to set foot on British soil.

The United States and the Iron Curtain countries have another way of solving the problem of keeping "undesirables" out: they demand a visa from everybody entering their countries. You are questioned before the visa is granted, and you are refused your visa if they have any objection to your entry. This saves you the expenses of a double passage.

Ministers all!

DE GAULLE has still to learn what successive British Governments have learned: that the champions of colonial independence who are in prison today will be the Prime Ministers of tomorrow. He refuses to recognise Ben Bella as negotiator for the Algerians. The British refused, once upon a time, to negotiate with Makarios. They imprisoned Nkrumah, Nehru and others who are now Prime Ministers in their respective countries. In Britain it is taken for granted that Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. Hastings Banda will be released and taken to London for negotiations about the future of their countries.

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'Six' and 'Seven'

AS a neutral, and a pacifist, I hold no brief for NATO, and I must note that positive results were achieved in a much more important field, namely that of economic

to make the United States its greatest trading partner). As regards trade with Sweden, which is able to buy more British goods than most under-developed countries, it is worth while reflecting for a moment upon the reasons for Sweden's wealth. Sweden once had a large empire and lost all of it. After a period of re-adaptation (with great poverty) the country managed to gain a greater prosperity than ever. I have many times told British and French people in the colonies who were afraid of losing their economic position: "We also had an empire. We became really wealthy and prosperous only after having lost every bit of it."

Sweden's weapons

STILL, there have been dangerous demands in Sweden for her to take part in the arms race of the Great Powers (but *outside* the two Power blocs). I reported last week the demands for a Swedish atomic bomb, and the great resistance to these demands. A new political Party, opposing the A-bomb, was recently founded. A Gallup

expenses of a double passage.

Ministers all!

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Previous French Governments learned the same lesson. They had to negotiate with Bourguiba and the Sultan of Morocco whom they had previously imprisoned. Now it is De Gaulle's turn.

Top diplomacy

THE following forthcoming meetings indicate the continuing pace of world diplomacy:

- Dr. Adenauer visits Paris on December 1.
- President Eisenhower will visit Rome, Ankara, Karachi, Kabul, New Delhi, Teheran, Athens, Madrid and Rabat between December 4-22.
- The NATO Ministerial Council meets in Paris from December 15-17 and again on December 21 or 22.
- The Western "Summit" meeting will be held in Paris from December 19-21.
- The ten-Power disarmament commission will meet in Geneva in January or February.
- Mr. Khrushchev will visit Paris in March.
- President de Gaulle will visit London from April 5-8.
- The Commonwealth Prime Ministers will probably meet in early May in London.
- General de Gaulle will visit Washington and Ottawa "next Spring."
- The SEATO Ministerial Council will meet in Washington from May 18-26.
- President Eisenhower will visit Russia in May or June.

South African resistance

THE exclusion of non-European students from Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Natal Universities from

January was deplored by the British National Union of Students on November 16 at its annual conference at Margate. The motion was carried unanimously.

The conference also offered "its continued support to the National Union of South African Students in their proper attempts to alleviate the disastrous effects in higher education of their Government's policy."

The previous day the NUS decided to support the National Union of South African Students' boycott of certain South African goods as a protest against the University Education Bill.

This motion also asked members of the NUS "to carry out an individual boycott as a practical measure to remove racial discrimination in South African universities." It instructed the executive to publish the names of goods to be boycotted.

Any applications?

A STANDING committee on policy towards under-developed countries has been set up by the Federation of British Industries.

Representatives on the committee will be drawn from industrial and financial circles. The committee will be headed by Sir Leslie

Rowan, finance director of Vickers, Ltd., it was announced on November 19 by the President of the Federation, Mr. W. H. McFadzean.

NATO Parliamentarians

M. SPAAK, Secretary-General of NATO, said in Washington on November 19 that as the threat of war receded, so the Communist threat increased. He was speaking at the conference of NATO Parliamentarians.

The conference, The Times' correspondent reported, that day approved several resolutions proposed by the economic committee, including one stating that NATO countries should do more to help under-developed countries and calling for a commission of outstanding independent economists to formulate a programme.



If nuclear war starts, British soldiers have been told to dig a hole in the ground and stay in it. This was stated on November 20 by a senior officer at an Aldershot demonstration, and reported by The Times the following day.

The Geneva tests conference of the three nuclear Powers held its 134th formal meeting of the series on November 19.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Non-settled refugees in Europe declined in number from 160,000 to 132,000 in the last year. These figures were given earlier this month by Dr. Auguste R. Lindt, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, to the General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, and reported by the UN Information Centre in London on November 17.

Sir Thomas Moore, MP, told the Foreign Secretary at Question Time in the House of Commons on November 18 that he could supply the names of 30 18-year-old Hungarians recently shot for their part in the 1956 revolt. About 100 other youths are due to be shot when they become 18, he added.

In Yokohama, Japan, an explosion at an explosives plant on November 20 injured over 1,000 people. Another 78 were killed or are missing, and the whole 100 square yard plant destroyed. Flying glass injured 100 primary school children, and 175 houses around were totally or partially destroyed.

Mr. Khrushchev has visited a Soviet factory where 250 rockets with hydrogen warheads have been manufactured in one year, he told Soviet journalists at a Kremlin reception on November 14.

In the three minutes it has taken you to read this feature the world has spent well over \$500,000 on armaments—according to Mr. Khrushchev's estimate in his speech at the United Nations on September 18.

Christmas books

A LIFE OF SEARCH

Hugh I'Anson Fausset reviews

The Life of John Middleton Murry, by F. A. Lea. Methuen & Co. Ltd. 30s.

TO write the life of John Middleton Murry can have been no easy task. To combine sympathy and understanding for the man in the agonies and endurance of his personal life with a just evaluation of the bewildering mutations of his message must have taxed even Mr. F. A. Lea's proved resources. But he has risen well to the challenge.

Few, if any, official biographies can have been so quietly candid as this one in disclosing the facts recorded so industriously in Murry's diaries and letters, while at the same time presenting them meaningfully.

The greatest of Murry's virtues, as Mr. Lea remarks, was his honesty. This may have gone with what Katherine Mansfield called a deplorable tendency to show his wounds. But throughout most of his life he was a spiritually wounded man, and in this he felt himself to impersonate the world in which he lived and which was doomed to self-destruction unless it could find a way to its own healing.

A desperate search for wholeness underlies everything that he did and wrote, and this provides the key, which Mr. Lea has firmly grasped, to the essential continuity of much that can seem, on the surface, so disparate and even contradictory.

Heart and head

Was there ever a man who committed so many apparent *volte-faces* or convinced himself so absolutely at the time that the latest of them provided the heaven-sent solution of the conflict which tormented him and his world?

The conflict was, of course, at bottom in himself. Mr. Lea suggests that it originated in the opposed temperaments of his parents and the mental drudgery imposed on the child by his father who was determined that he should rise above his own humble rung in the social ladder. His intellect, as a result, was precociously developed at the expense of his feelings.

This split between heart and head is, indeed, apparent throughout his life and



John Middleton Murry

the relentless compulsion which they exercised over his mind. It was this rift in himself, too, which underlay his long and tragic quest for the perfect marriage.

But Murry's significance lies in his inability to compromise. He could never contemplate accepting the kind of partial solutions by which most people achieve a tolerable working agreement between the dissident sides of their nature. The situation was too critical for that. In Mr. Lea's words, "From 'The Evolution of an Intellectual' onwards, whatever the variations, the one theme persists unbroken: the imperative necessity of a new kind of consciousness, if the catastrophe of 1914-18 is not to be on a still more devastating scale."

This conviction gave to all he wrote an urgency of insight which the writings of his

"There remains the world of spirit, which I can enter—the great, calm, impersonal world, where all things are, and nothing cares. Between that world and the world in which I live is a great gulf fixed."

It is a heart-rending confession by a man who had striven so hard and suffered so much. For outer events had conspired to confirm with cruel reiteration what Mr. Lea calls "the inward division between the craving of his heart for the security of love, and the knowledge of his mind that love was doomed."

Learning by living

This extreme conflict of head and heart made him the most imaginatively searching literary critic of his generation. In this field of spiritual exploration, away from the fever of immediate living, his very weaknesses, as Mr. Lea writes, "turned to strength, for not only was his susceptibility to the lightest nuance of feeling in poetry proportionate (like the blind man's touch) to his everyday impercipient, but both by propensity and practice he was superbly equipped to formulate an emotional response intellectually."

The secret of his genius as an interpreter both of poetry and life lay in his readiness to learn by living. His life, as Mr. Lea remarks, was "experimental through and through." He saw himself as a perceptive organism, over the growth of which he had little control. At all costs life must have its way with him, even if it swept him headlong into disasters. This, for him, was the meaning of humility, "an emptying of one's self that that which is greater may take possession." It was in this way that the great artists achieved in themselves "a purity of soul." But here again he never seems to have truly faced what such an "emptying" involved in the sustained exercise of an inward attention, a watchful and critical self-awareness.

Romantic faith

His capacity to share the creative vision of a Shakespeare, a Keats, or a Tchaikovsky

Eroica

Jack Shepherd reviews

Not As the Scribes, by John Middleton Murry. SCM Press, 18s.

WITH the halting morality of King David and the stumblings of the Apostles safe in the limbo of tradition, a school of Latter-day Pharisees chuckles as it throws stones at the personal failings and distresses of less comfortably remote prophets. Snug in the confidence of Psychology and Criticism they deplore John Middleton Murry like mad. These maladjusted introverts, don't y'know?

Fortunately, this book comes to balance the picture. It is a collection of talks and lay sermons given over many years by Murry to the members of his community at Lodge Farm. The material is brought together and introduced by Dr Alec Vidler.

Murry was not content with books of rules, or the law laid down. He was an uneasy, impossible scribe. Murry was a seeker, trying to be honest, and haunted by Christ. "My hero of heroes," he says, "is Jesus of Nazareth."



Some of us are content with a Christ who is a kind of super-angel in the regalia of an archbishop. We see him in certain kinds of "religious" films, in spotless white robe, waved hair, speaking in Tudor English. We are apt to pity men like Murry who are tormented by doubts in Christology. But the honest agony of the doubter clears some of the mists from that haunting person, and a great startling nobility and challenge is revealed. "The great defect of traditional Christianity," Murry writes, "is that it minimises and reduces almost to nothing the astonishing creative acts of Jesus."

If it was not all done by magic, does it lose its point, or gain? Murry's scrutiny gropes through to the realness of divinity, though he hesitates to call it such.

"... the simple and amazing discovery of the man Jesus. The more he forgave,

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The conflict was, of course, at bottom in himself. Mr. Lea suggests that it originated in the opposed temperaments of his parents and the mental drudgery imposed on the child by his father who was determined that he should rise above his own humble rung in the social ladder. His intellect, as a result, was precociously developed at the expense of his feelings.

This split between heart and head is, indeed, apparent throughout his life and helps to explain the extraordinary excesses into which his feelings could lead him and

But Murry's significance lies in his inability to compromise. He could never contemplate accepting the kind of partial solutions by which most people achieve a tolerable working agreement between the dissident sides of their nature. The situation was too critical for that. In Mr. Lea's words, "From 'The Evolution of an Intellectual' onwards, whatever the variations, the one theme persists unbroken: the imperative necessity of a new kind of consciousness, if the catastrophe of 1914-18 is not to be on a still more devastating scale."

This conviction gave to all he wrote an urgency of insight which the writings of his more critically self-conscious contemporaries lacked. Yet he remained all his life strangely blind to the real cost of such a "new consciousness." The need of a fundamental change became vitally real to him in the days of dereliction which followed Katherine Mansfield's death. Characteristically he wasted no time in publishing an account of that experience, which, as he always insisted, was "the one entirely revolutionary happening" of his life. A new life, he felt, came to birth in him then, one in which he was no longer an alien, but knew that he belonged to a harmonious universe in which all things, however hard to accept, worked together for good.

Mystical experience

Mr. Lea calls this a mystical experience and so far as it resolved, if only momentarily, the warfare of the self-conscious mind, it may be described as such. Murry himself, however, always preferred to call himself a moralist rather than a mystic, and certainly he lacked the essential qualities of a true mystic. If his experience at The Old Farm, Twyford, changed his life for good and determined all that followed, it manifestly failed really to unify his being. Nor did it induce that readiness to face the realities of himself without which such an experience is apt to remain no more than a blinding flash of light.

The flash, indeed, recurred, not only in ecstatic moments amid the torments of his private life, but when he conceived some new project for the salvation of his fellows. But each ecstasy brought its disillusionment and he remained distraught with intimations of a harmony for ever beyond his reach.

For despite his intoxicating sense of a unity at the heart of things, he could not find a way to reconcile the timeless and the temporal orders. In his own words,

little control. At all costs life must have its way with him, even if it swept him headlong into disasters. This, for him, was the meaning of humility, "an emptying of one's self that that which is greater may take possession." It was in this way that the great artists achieved in themselves "a purity of soul." But here again he never seems to have truly faced what such an "emptying" involved in the sustained exercise of an inward attention, a watchful and critical self-awareness.

Romantic faith

His capacity to share the creative vision of a Shakespeare, a Keats, or a Tchekhov provided an imaginative solution of his own conflict, but it did not bring its real solution any nearer. This vision was the essence of the religion which Murry preached. It was insufficient because it lacked a transcendental reference—Murry was strangely insensitive to a plane of reality which transcended, even while it informed, both the human and the natural. It was this which made it possible for him to acclaim D. H. Lawrence as the Jesus of our day. And it was when he passed from literature to religion and from religion to politics that the inadequacies of an emotionally biased romantic faith became apparent.

Yet again and again he seemed to achieve the genuine synthesis of instinct and intellect for which he was always striving. His "Necessity of Pacifism" is an example of this. When he wrote it, he lived it, and so its truth still lives. But later his head rejected what his heart approved.

But in intention his whole life was devoted to the task of redeeming the contraries. And if, in reading this industrious and informative biography, one often has the feeling of someone running fanatically hard to remain in the same place, one cannot but admire Murry's tireless devotion to the cause of individual and social regeneration, which he made so variously his own.

Beneath, too, all the subtle and masterful labours of his unresting mind was the man of simple human sympathies whom Max Plowman divined and loved, who dug his garden and later wrote "Community Farm," a man whose courage was equal to the worst ordeals and whose need of affection was no greater than his eagerness to give it.

How good it is to know that in the end he found peace in the perfect man-woman relationship he had so distractedly sought. Truly he had earned it.

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"... the simple and amazing discovery of the man Jesus. The more he forgave, the more certain he was that it was God who forgave; the more he loved, the more certain he was that it was God who loved. He discovered the nature of God. And the world has never got over it; and the world will never get over it."

★

The book touches upon many of the affairs of humanity seen by Murry through the years, and one is able to trace the shaping of his thought by the life of his community. Of special interest to pacifists will be Murry's ultimate rejection of the pacifist position which had informed much of his work.

"... organised pacifism is based on self-delusion, on the flattering assumption that men—and above all pacifists themselves—are much better than they are. Pacifism is a creed for saints—and saints are few and far."

It is not the purpose of this review to debate the matter, but it is hard to reconcile this apparent realism with many other of Murry's attitudes:

"Jesus did not reach his wisdom by loving wisely, with circumspection, demanding security."

"No one who does not know what it is to have endured the condition of utter defeat and impotence, the disappointment of all his hopes, an *absolute emptiness*, has begun to know what the pursuit of the Good, or the service of God, really is."

If we are required to believe that the Kingdom of God is here and now, are we still to hope and wait for an age of saints?

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LAST CHANCE IN NYASALAND

Dawn in Nyasaland, by Guy Clutton-Brock. Hodder & Stoughton. 3s, 6d

GUY CLUTTON-BROCK and Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton should be congratulated upon the timely appearance of this important book, in the centenary of Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyasa and shortly before the appointment of the Monckton Commission, and at the modest price of 3s. 6d.

Clutton-Brock, whose mission in Rhodesia has become famous, and who has made many extended visits to Nyasaland, writes as a Christian and a believer in the common man. Nowhere in the book is there a sneer or a breath of hatred. He presents, without an evocative word, a well reasoned and compelling case for the freedom of Nyasaland. The book, almost completed at the time of his detention, shows that those who ordered his confinement should be referred for psychiatric examination.

Nyasaland is a comparatively small country half the size of New Zealand, with a population of 2,740,000 people. Over 99 per cent are Africans. There are 11,500 Asians and 8,600 Europeans but only about 130 European farmers.

Since the imposition of Federation in 1953 in the face of a virtually 100 per cent opposition of Nyasalanders, the country is governed by a Parliament of fifty-nine members, sitting 400 miles away and containing no elected representative of Nyasaland. Three



By
Leslie
Hale, MP

internal conflict in the Parliamentary Labour Party before it was decided to oppose Federation. The "realist" contended that the great economic advantages to Nyasaland would outweigh the loss of independence and of freedom.

Mr. Clutton-Brock's report on the economic aspects of Federation are, therefore, of especial interest.

The average wage of Africans in Nyasaland is estimated to be £46 per year and that of Europeans £1,023.

The Federal Government does not publish figures which show clearly the revenue raised from Nyasaland and the amount expended there. In July, 1954, the public

debt of Southern Rhodesia was stated to be £133,000,000 and that of Nyasaland only £6,000,000.

Nyasaland has the largest population of the three territories, and the greatest need for investment but receives only 15 per cent of the loan receipts allocated to the individual territories. The concentration on economic development in the Rhodesias means that hopes of secondary industries in Nyasaland are slowly receding and the withdrawal of able-bodied labour to the copper belt involves grave social evils.

"Families are deprived of their fathers, husbands and elder brothers. Whole villages throughout the country are despoiled of their able-bodied men; without them local development cannot take place; capital can neither be used nor created. They are inveigled, in the first instance, by propaganda and bribes, to the slums of the south to become victims of exploitation, ill-health, prostitution and crime. Their families are left broken to eke out a living from the eroding soil."

That is Mr. Clutton-Brock's case and it derives additional strength from the fact that it is nowhere over-stated. To those who say that all Africans are liars, or that they won't work, or that Europeans don't understand them, Mr. Clutton-Brock quotes the impressive testimony of an Italian firm, main contractors on the Kariba dam, who employed 11,000 Africans "straight from the bush" who went to the firm's school to be trained and soon became surprisingly efficient. Many were earning £32 a month plus accommodation, food and medical services.

In July, 1958, after 30 years' absence, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda returned to Nyasaland . . . in answer to an invitation to become President-General of Congress. He had left his native Kasungu to tread bare-foot the dusty way to the West. Throughout the years . . . he retained close ties with his country . . . and his name became venerated throughout Nyasaland. . . . He has chosen as his lieutenants . . . young men and women . . . of outstanding quality.

Ten, twenty, thirty thousand people travel for miles through the bush to hear the Doctor speak. Men in their thousands, in tattered shorts or tailored trousers, women with babies on their backs, children walking with banners, drums and songs, they throng the hillside, climb the trees, cling to the windows of the building, stand on the roofs of buses parked from their dusty journeys. . . .

The leader at home, what is he like? A demagogue, self-important, intolerant, egotistical, vain? No, a humble man, rather shy, simple and meticulous of habit, of perfect courtesy, a man who can listen as well as speak, shrewd, with brain and intuition, a man of integrity and of culture. —"Dawn in Nyasaland."

The further imposition of Federation will be a crime and, worse than that, a blunder. The future of Nyasaland may involve the future of the Continent.

This admirable book is essential reading for every politically conscious Christian or liberal politician and should be beneficial to all who are neither.

A POET'S SOUVENIRS

Geoffrey Carnall reviews

The Prodigal Son. Poems 1956-1959, by James Kirkup. Oxford University Press, 15s.

THE prodigal son wasted his substance in a far country, and many of James Kirkup's poems in this collection are souvenirs of Sweden, Spain, China, and Japan. A controlled energy and fastidious exactness of expression makes some of the ori-

observed as a pattern of electric lights in the warm darkness.

The literary excellence of these poems grows out of the outlook on life explicitly presented in the fourth section, the longing for the ray of light which falls on the darkness of our being, the "explanation of

ably might, the human conflicts that he must have felt on his pulses in the course of his travels. He simply walks patiently through the world, noting small revelations, avoiding the "loud word", the "word abused". His verse reveals the deeper levels of many minds today—some sturdy Aldermaston marchers included.

MILITARISTS

So to Salisbury jail I went, there to be treated well while, as with many others in the same position, my wife and daughter remained outside to discover countless friends unknown before.

I sat in the cell and pondered on what the future held for a country with a government so muddled in its motives, so scanty in its knowledge of its people . . . after 26 days I was released . . . not knowing why . . . 400 remained inside, three-quarters of them gradually to be let out later. They came out stronger than they went in; they had suffered for a cause."—"Dawn in Nyasaland."

members "are intended to represent their interest . . . and their selection is to a large extent dependent upon the indement

I sat in the cell and pondered on what the future held for a country with a government so muddled in its motives, so scanty in its knowledge of its people . . . after 26 days I was released . . . not knowing why . . . 400 remained inside, three-quarters of them gradually to be let out later. They came out stronger than they went in; they had suffered for a cause."—"Dawn in Nyasaland."

members "are intended to represent their interest . . . and their selection is to a large extent dependent upon the judgment of the Governor."

"Nyasaland is blessed with a wide variety of natural resources as yet largely untapped. Thirty-eight different marketable minerals are known to exist. There is a steady increase in prospecting with encouraging results. The fishing industry by Lake Nyasa is growing, extensive forest estates are being planted. . . It is still largely a land of peasant farmers and off-shore fishermen, of hills-men, plains-men and happy people of the Lake shore."

The preliminary committee to advise on Federation, an all-white one, was, despite back bench protest appointed by a Labour Government and was followed by a long

A POET'S SOUVENIRS

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THE prodigal son wasted his substance in a far country, and many of James Kirkup's poems in this collection are souvenirs of Sweden, Spain, China, and Japan. A controlled energy and fastidious exactness of expression makes some of the oriental poems especially attractive. The geisha dancing, for example:

*To the small music of a samisen,
Balancing your pale face and lacquered wig
Like too-heavy burdens on your child's thin neck,
You gently stamp your attitudes . . .*

Kirkup is at his best when describing an experience like that of answering the phone at night in a strange country, and finding that it is a wrong number. He conveys something miniature, complete, brightly illuminated. One sees this in another way in his poem on the Katarina Lift in Stockholm. The city appeals to him most when

observed as a pattern of electric lights in the warm darkness.

The literary excellence of these poems grows out of the outlook on life explicitly presented in the fourth section, the longing for the ray of light which falls on the darkness of our being, the "explanation of our mysterious existence where nothing is clear but its wretchedness and futility." Not for him the sense of the intoxicating onward movement of history which one finds (for instance) in some of Wordsworth's poetry, or the "positive optimism" demanded of modern Soviet writers. He does not even bring into focus, as he conceiv-

BOOKS RECEIVED

inclusion in this list does not necessarily mean that the book will not be reviewed in a future issue.

Return, a novel by Kathrine Talbot (Faber & Faber, 15s.).

The Brink, a novel by John Brunner (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.).

Pastor Niemoller, by Dietmar Schmidt (Odhams, 21s.).

Man's Great Future, by Erwin D. Canham (Longman's, New York, 4 dollars).

Mahatma Gandhi; correspondence with the Government, 1944-47 (Navajivan Publishing House, India).

And Loving I Despair, a novel by Verena Sladen (Barrie & Rockcliffe, 16s.).

PAMPHLETS

China and the United Nations, by Gerald Bailey (Friends East West Relations Committee).

Land in Southern Rhodesia, by Ken Brown (The Africa Bureau, 2s.).

Discussing Defence and Disarmament, by Tudor David (United Nations Association, 1s. 6d.).

Disengagement and Peace, by Frank Allaun (Union of Democratic Control, 6d.).

Our Right to Travel, by Helen and Scott Nearing (Social Science Institute, Maine, USA, 25 cents).

ably might, the human conflicts that he must have felt on his pulses in the course of his travels. He simply walks patiently through the world, noting small revelations, avoiding the "loud word", the "word abused". His verse reveals the deeper levels of many minds today—some sturdy Aldermaston marchers included.

MILITARISTS

Disarmament: an Outline of the Negotiations, by Anthony Nutting. Oxford University Press, 8s. 6d.

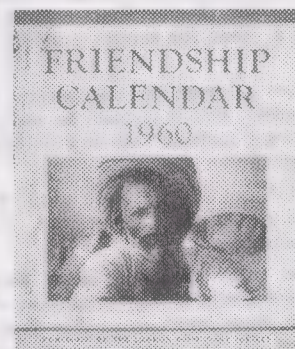
MR ANTHONY NUTTING has written a small volume, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, which puts concisely the history of plans and moves towards multilateral disarmament since World War II.

The author was British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from the formation of the Conservative Government of 1951 until 1954 and then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs until his resignation at the time of the Suez war.

His book presents the actual plans which have been passed around among statesmen and their advisers; the picture that emerges also reveals something of the short-comings of the system and assumptions by which these men work.

Mr. Nutting allows himself a few tentative conclusions, of which his final sentence sums up the dilemma: "Agreement requires an act of faith—and has either side the confidence in the other on which to base such faith?"

C. F.



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NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT BY

Unilateral action or diplomacy?

PEACE NEWS—November 27, 1959—7

APRIL CARTER ★ reviews

Strategy for Survival, by Wayland Young. Penguin Books. 2s. 6d.

THE tone of Wayland Young's Penguin Special on nuclear weapons is set by one of his introductory remarks: "to make a beginning with considering ways out of the loathsome situation in which all mankind now finds itself requires the coldest balancing of possibility against possibility." He specifically warns us against the dangers of emotionalism—"some writers allow their horror and desolation to sweep them away into a generous but useless absolutism."

I am reminded of a Labour candidate who wrote that he accepted the unilateral case until he came to suspect this acceptance was based on an emotional repudiation of the H-bomb, whereupon he promptly rejected his unilateralism in favour of sound politics. This story illustrates a tendency among modern intellectuals to be as prudish about their emotions as the Victorians were about their bodies. Emotions are dangerous and disreputable, so let's examine everything in the pure light of reason.

REJECTING EMOTION

This attitude is significant because if you reject emotion you reject your only real touchstone of humanity or morality. From this it is a short step to accepting the H-bomb as a deterrent. I have dwelt on this attitude because my criticism of Wayland Young's book centres round it. He says at one stage that the problem of nuclear weapons is a total one "embracing morality, politics, strategy, economics and everything else you can think of," so the nuclear disarmarmer who argues the moral case *only* is oversimplifying the problem. I agree with this: my objection is to the way in which "moral action" and "political action" are posed as quite distinct, if not incompatible. Morality is also politics, and sound politics at that.

Wayland Young himself appears to accept this principle when denouncing "cupboard love" policies; doling out charity to the under-developed countries in order to combat Communism.

"It ought to be the most obvious of human truths that if I give a man a



Wayland Young

His proposals are in brief that Britain should take a diplomatic initiative to get all countries except Russia and America to agree:

1. Not to make their own nuclear weapons.
2. Not to accept them from Russia or America.
3. Not to accept strategic nuclear bases on their soil.

These countries would remain in their re-

tional nuclear disarmament by this country make a nuclear war less likely?

These hypothetical arguments are singularly unconvincing, even within Mr. Young's own terms of reference. Surely the last thing Russia would do if Britain were to leave NATO, thus heralding the possible collapse of the alliance, would be to cement NATO together again and risk world war by precipitate invasion of Britain. But even if his hypothetical chain of events might occur, the hypothesis is inadmissible. There are countless possible theories about the effects of unilateral nuclear disarmament ranging from extreme optimism to extreme pessimism. But since no one can foresee the future or reckon with all the factors which may operate in the future, any prediction can only be a guess. The most realistic approach is to ask "how can we in the present situation stop contributing to the arms race, and so reduce the risk of war?" The only logical answer is to opt out of it altogether, and this is also the only "moral" answer.

FALLACIES EXPOSED

Ironically, Wayland Young having set out to abjure emotion is tripped up by it at every turn. On the one hand he has a very natural horror of the H-bomb and the effects of a nuclear war. On the other the intellectual's contempt for emotion and the soldier's faith in armed defence, and he appears to carry over the diplomatic tradition which condemns unilateral action (he is the son of a Cabinet Minister and was in the Foreign Office for three years).

So he exposes with brevity and vigour the flaws and fallacies in the deterrent theory and various military solutions of the present impasse. His criticisms include a brilliant and frightening exposition of the present drive to war, exemplified by the ring of nuclear bases, the construction of missile sites and incessant patrol flights; an analysis of the "limited nuclear war" theory which shows how a limited atomic war is almost certain to "escalate" into

"deterrents." He does not even mention the possibility of war being sparked off by a Suez or Lebanon. He lays a good deal of stress on the argument that Britain's threat to meet a major conventional attack by Russia with a nuclear bombardment is sheer bluff, and that "when it comes to the moment sanity is far more likely to prevail than lunacy of nihilism."

DETERRENT THEORY

Thus he seems to accept that in the event of conventional aggression the deterrent is certain to deter. This certainly contrasts strangely with his own comments: "Fear and tension continue to mount, and with them the boy scout mentality which comes from resolving not to admit fear." It also contrasts with his sensible analysis of the confusion caused by the use of the word "deterrent" and the Russian "adventuristic," and his deduction that in thermo-nuclear strategy, gobbledygook "looks like leading to Armageddon." It is presumably because he can, up to a certain point, accept the deterrent theory that he can recommend an indefinite period in which the two power blocs face each other across their ICBM bases.

The passages in this book which deal with the military solutions of the arms race make spine-chilling reading. Wayland Young's destructive analysis of them is very good and well worth reading. The treatment of the non-military solutions is correspondingly poor, and "passive resistance" in particular is dismissed glibly with a complete lack of perspective or understanding. The author seems to be loading all his dice in favour of his own solution.

A SOLUTION NOW

The case for the non-nuclear club is argued persuasively and at length, with some special pleading about the likelihood of China and France joining it—an eventuality which seems very remote just now.

ing morality, politics, strategy, economics and everything else you can think of," so the nuclear disarmament who argues the moral case *only* is oversimplifying the problem. I agree with this; my objection is to the way in which "moral action" and "political action" are posed as quite distinct, if not incompatible. Morality is also politics, and sound politics at that.

Wayland Young himself appears to accept this principle when denouncing "cup-board love" policies; doling out charity to the under-developed countries in order to combat Communism.

"It ought to be the most obvious of human truths that if I give a man a steel works or a dam because I want him to like me or to be on my side he will take the things and spit in my eye. But if I give him the very same things because I want him to be richer and healthier, without thought of my own advantage, he will take them and be thankful."

"Strategy for Survival" has been hailed as a handbook for nuclear disarmers, so it is important to be clear what relevance it has to the campaign. Wayland Young claims that his proposals will be acceptable to all but the "extreme wing" of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

* Secretary of the "Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War."

Wayland Young

His proposals are in brief that Britain should take a diplomatic initiative to get all countries except Russia and America to agree:

1. Not to make their own nuclear weapons.
2. Not to accept them from Russia or America.
3. Not to accept strategic nuclear bases on their soil.

These countries would remain in their respective military alliances, would accept tactical nuclear weapons (up to a size to be negotiated) on the understanding that they would not be used first. The West would build up conventional forces to the level of the East's. These proposals are intended as a practicable compromise (which may be acceptable to all Governments at the present time) not as an entirely consistent panacea. The proposals are made in the framework of international diplomacy.

PROTEST MOVEMENT

It is therefore a handbook for diplomats rather than campaigners. Wayland Young thinks in conventional political terms, which means that he sees the Campaign purely as a protest movement to spur politicians on to negotiate a compromise solution. Thus he leaves the power of people to change events—as opposed to merely pressurising a government—completely out of account. If one denies that people in this country may be able to ensure unilateral disarmament, and if one denies that this may create strong reactions among the people of other nuclear powers, then the bottom falls out of the unilateralist case.

Indeed Wayland Young is strongly opposed to unilateral action which he claims might plunge the world into war by sheer confusion. He argues that Britain would be at the mercy of a Russian invasion, that this might lead Russia to bring pressure to bear on Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark who control the Baltic Sea, and that America might be forced to transfer her bases from Britain to Norway and Denmark. This might be resisted, and so add to the turmoil. Anyway, as bases would remain in Germany, Turkey, Spain and Saudi Arabia, how would uncondi-

and the common man in arms, and he appears to carry over the diplomatic tradition which condemns unilateral action (he is the son of a Cabinet Minister and was in the Foreign Office for three years).

So he exposes with brevity and vigour the flaws and fallacies in the deterrent theory and various military solutions of the present impasse. His criticisms include a brilliant and frightening exposition of the present drive to war, exemplified by the ring of nuclear bases, the construction of missile sites and incessant patrol flights; an analysis of the "limited nuclear war" theory which shows how a limited atomic war is almost certain to "escalate" into a major thermo-nuclear one; and some very pertinent comments about the propensity of many in Russia and the West to carry over emotional stereotypes from earlier wars to the present age, in which they have no relevance.

NON-NUCLEAR CLUB

But having made an analysis which suggests that unilateralism is the only realistic response to the situation, his prejudices come to the fore. The rather wild way in which he throws out some of his objections to unilateralism, without any explanation, ("Nor is it at all certain that in this confusion Russia would be the first to walk in and set up a Quisling government; America might. There might be civil war.") suggest that his rejection is at least, in part, emotional. This impression is strengthened by his admission that he finds the idea on some levels attractive, and his condescending allusions to "extremists" and "absolutists" who forego any influence they might have on political events.

Thus he proposes a solution which contradicts many of his earlier arguments. His non-nuclear club proposal does not substantially reduce the drive to war by both Russia and America; it also allows "tactical" atomic weapons and so does not reduce the danger of escalation in the event of war—as the author admits. Moreover, by maintaining the two power blocs and laying stress on building up conventional arms it does nothing to eliminate the Cold War attitude.

Wayland Young's treatment of the deterrent theory also reveals some ambivalence. He deems the two chief dangers to be war by technological or human error, and war through the proliferation of independent

very good and well worth reading. The treatment of the non-military solutions is correspondingly poor, and "passive resistance" in particular is dismissed glibly with a complete lack of perspective or understanding. The author seems to be loading all his dice in favour of his own solution.

A SOLUTION NOW

The case for the non-nuclear club is argued persuasively and at length, with some special pleading about the likelihood of China and France joining it—an eventuality which seems very remote just now. The "club" is not posed as a permanent and constructive solution, but as a "brake" on the arms race. Wayland Young believes that the solution of the H-bomb threat must be formulated by a generation who grow up with the Bomb as a reality. A generation who know about the atom bomb from early childhood is already growing up, and many of them are coming into the campaign. Surely it is important to find a constructive solution now, not to compromise with principle by inadequate "diplomatic" solutions for an indefinite period.

This is a book worth reading for the information it contains and for its analysis of the present situation, both of which will do the campaign some service. If, however, it is read and accepted uncritically, it may do the campaign a good deal of harm.

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CHILDREN'S BOOKS

By Mary Ray

SO many new children's books have been published recently that it is only possible to deal with a few of them. Those mentioned here have something more than a good story to offer—a widening of interest perhaps or a deepening of understanding.

Eleven and up

Reginald Reynolds' last book, *THE TRUE BOOK ABOUT MAHATMA GANDHI* (Muller, 8s. 6d.), although especially written for young people, is a good introduction to Gandhi's life for people of all ages. Amusingly and simply told though the story is, the author does not write down at all and the Indian words Ahimsa and Satyagraha become understandable. We are told about Gandhi as a small shy boy and his concern for truth and honesty, his early marriage and his student days in London. Quite a large part of the book gives an account of his life in South Africa and the struggle on behalf of his fellow Indians when non-violent resistance was first tried. This is a splendid book.

The story of a Ghana boy's struggle for education puts a new value on schooling for children of this country. *ASHANTI BOY*, by Akosua Abbs (Collins, 10s. 6d.), thrills us by the boy's perseverance in face of indifference, stupidity and accident to go to school to become of more use to his country when he is grown up.

A lively story of Youth Hostel life will appeal particularly to girls. *ANNABELLE JOINS IN*, by Lilius Edwards (Blackie, 9s. 6d) gives a racy account of an early holiday in the Scottish Highlands. Jean and Marion, two outdoor girls, have a prim companion thrust upon them and start off in some trepidation wondering if she will enjoy the life as they do. As so often happens, events do not happen as planned and Annabelle gets the worst possible initiation.

Another book that appeals to girls near school leaving age is *PAT MACDONALD*—

Barbara Goolden (Heinemann, 12s. 6d.), the story of a lonely Hungarian refugee boy, afraid of the police and of all adults. He is befriended by Minty, who finds him a real home on a farm. *THEY'RE DROWNING OUR VILLAGE*, by Rutgers van der Loeff (University of London Press, 12s. 6d.), is a story about the French Alps translated from the Dutch. It is a topical subject, the sacri-



The three musicians.

From "Picasso"

fice of a village in order that a whole region may have hydro-electric power.

Three historical novels are very good. *HIGH SANG THE SWORD*, by Eileen O'Faolain (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.), brings to life the time of monastic fervour in Ireland when round towers had to be built to resist the annual invasions of the Vikings. *THE LOAD OF UNICORN*, by Cynthia Harnett (Methuen, 15s.), is the story of a tussle about a load of paper that the men who copied books by hand tried to keep from Caxton and his new printing press. This book has all sorts of interesting little maps, diagrams and drawings which occur in all the right places. *THE LANTERN BEARERS*, by Rosemary Sutcliff (Oxford University Press, 15s.), describes Britain after the Romans have left. Aquila, a

(Faber, 13s. 6d.), full of fun and fantasy, describes a holiday spent by three children (two of them displaced persons), with two elderly eccentric ladies. They have a canoe which takes them into various waterways and brings them Gulliver-like adventures. *ALL THE PROUD TRIBESMEN*, by Kylie Tennant (Macmillan, 11s. 6d.), will probably be enjoyed most by boys of ten and eleven. Kerri, the story-teller, lives on an island off the coast of Queensland, and very often feels he would rather be a pearl-fisher than go to school in Queensland as Miss Buchanan, who has adopted him, wants. A volcanic eruption interferes with plans, however, and Kerri gets his chance to excel in practical ways.

NOEL STREATFEILD'S *BALLET ANNUAL* (Collins, 10s. 6d.) has a collection of stories, pictures and articles that will delight girls who have enjoyed "Ballet Shoes" and "The Bell Family." *COUSIN ANNABELLE'S CHRISTMAS*, by Kathleen O'Farrell (Heinemann, 11s. 6d.), is a good book for holiday reading with its snow-bound country house, its constant preoccupation with food and the variety of unexpected guests. *THE CHRISTMAS ROCKET*, by Anne Mollay (Constable, 12s. 6d.), for the younger end of this age group, beautifully illustrated, tells how an Italian family of potters managed to save their business just in time for Christmas. A new edition of W. de la Mare's version of the old fairy tales, *TALES TOLD AGAIN* (Faber, 15s.), is well worth having and beautifully illustrated in black and white.

Under eight

For the youngest children there is a new Alison Uttley, *TIM RABBIT AND COMPANY*



From "Cousin Annabella's Christmas"

(Faber, 10s. 6d.), *GOD AND MR. SOURPUSS*, by Aaron Judah (Faber, 10s. 6d.), the story of a cross man and his reformation, *THE ANIMAL GAME*, by Charlotte Hough (Faber, 9s. 6d.), the story of a naughty girl who pretended to be all sorts of animals, and for the youngest of all, *SNUG AND SERENA COUNT TWELVE*, by Alison Uttley (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.).

New Puffin books are: *THE LION, THE WITCH AND THE WARDROBE*, by C. S. Lewis (3s.), *AVALANCHE*, by A. Rutgers van der Loeff (2s. 6d.), *THE STORY OF JESUS* by Eleanor Graham (3s. 6d.), *THE GOOD MASTER*, by Kate Seredy (3s.), *BIRD WATCHING FOR BEGINNERS*, by Bruce Campbell (2s. 6d.).

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Another book that appeals to girls near school leaving age is PAT MACDONALD—SALES ASSISTANT, by Elizabeth Grey (Bodley Head, 8s. 6d.). The author became a shop assistant in a large store and the amusing account of a beginner is quite authentic. THE GREEN SLIPPERS, by Saint Marcoux (Bodley Head, 10s. 6d.), an unusual story about a young dancer, her friends, and the heart of Paris, is another attractive story.

Three good books for boys are THE HAUNTED ISLAND, by Miep Dickman (Methuen, 10s. 6d), THE SINGING CAVE, by Ellis Dillon (Faber, 12s. 6d.), and YOUNG CLIMBER, by Robert Bateman (Faber, 12s. 6d.). Matthew, of the first story, lives in the tropics by the sea and has the most marvellous present of a boat for his birthday. The neighbourhood is buzzing with the news of the escape of four political prisoners and Matthew in his explorations finds one of them ill in his tent on an island believed to be bewitched. He can only save the man by letting him have the boat. At last he makes the sacrifice. THE SINGING CAVE is an Irish story about a boy who finds Viking relics in a cave near his cottage. The find is stolen and taken to Brittany and the boy and his friend become stowaways in order to save the relics for the village.

YOUNG CLIMBER describes the adventures of a group of boys trying to win the Duke of Edinburgh's Award and is of great interest to rock climbers and mountain lovers.

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Three historical novels are very good. HIGH SANG THE SWORD, by Eileen O'Faolain (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.), brings to life the time of monastic fervour in Ireland when round towers had to be built to resist the annual invasions of the Vikings. THE LOAD OF UNICORN, by Cynthia Harnett (Methuen, 15s.), is the story of a tussle about a load of paper that the men who copied books by hand tried to keep from Caxton and his new printing press. This book has all sorts of interesting little maps, diagrams and drawings which occur in all the right places. THE LANTERN BEARERS, by Rosemary Sutcliff (Oxford University Press, 15s.), describes Britain after the Romans have left. Aquila, a young Roman officer, deserts the army to stay in Britain, only to suffer at the hands of the Saxon invaders. This again is most suitably illustrated.

The new travel books too are attractive. THE YOUNG TRAVELLER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, by Marie Burg (Phoenix, 10s. 6d.), is full of interest and not only describes a visit to Prague but the ice caves of Dobsina and the Puppet Film studios at Gottwaldov. THE YOUNG TRAVELLER IN BELGIUM, by K. M. Willcox (Phoenix, 10s. 6d.), is a splendid book to have before a school journey to Belgium, illustrated as it is by a map and many photographs. THE TWINS OF INDIA, by Denis Shaw (Cape, 9s. 6d.), less of a guide book and more of a story, manages however to give the feeling of the country and people.

A biography of PICASSO, by Elizabeth Ripley (Oxford University Press, 17s. 6d), "best known and least understood artist of our time," fills a great need with its simple life story, illustrated by examples of the artist's work in various important periods.

Eight to eleven

TALES FROM CHAUCER, re-told by Eleanor Farjeon (Oxford University Press, 15s.), can be appreciated by children of all ages. The stories are short and the sentences pithy. Young children can enjoy their liveliness and older ones will find them helpful before embarking on Chaucer's English. THE SPETTECAKE HOLIDAY, by Edith Unnerstad (Michael Joseph, 12s. 6d.), is a lively Swedish story of summer on a farm. The making of the spettekake (shiny yellow batter of egg and sugar and potato flour wound in layers round a roller turned on a spit), comes at the end of the story when Pelle, the hero, returns to Stockholm. THE RIVER AT GREEN KNOWE, by L. M. Boston

Under eight

For the youngest children there is a new Alison Uttley, TIM RABBIT AND COMPANY

Eleanor Graham (3s. 6d.), THE GOOD MASTER, by Kate Seredy (3s.), BIRD WATCHING FOR BEGINNERS, by Bruce Campbell (2s. 6d.).

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SOME BOOKS OF GENERAL INTEREST

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NOT AS THE SCRIBES, John Middleton Murry.	18s. (9d.)
PEAR'S CYCLOPAEDIA. 1960 Edn., comprehensive reference work.	17s. 6d. (1s.)
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VICKY'S WORLD, a collection of his best cartoons.	15s. (1s.)
THE MANHOOD OF THE MASTER, Henry Emerson Fosdick.	3s. 6d. (4d.)
CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI, Carlo Levi.	2s. 6d. (4d.)
KATHLEEN FERRIER, Winifred Ferrier.	5s. (6d.)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Harrington demonstration

IT is essential, if the demonstration against rocket bases at Harrington on January 2 is to have its full impact, that organisations and individuals make every effort to be there on this date, either as demonstrators or supporters.

It was apparent at Swaffham last year that double the numbers of demonstrators taking part would have had a tremendous effect and impact. May I therefore appeal to campaigners generally to support this project and make it the most important witness against nuclear arms yet.

What better journey to take on New Year's Day 1960 than to Harrington?—**AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, 4, Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts.**

Television programmes

WE are very pleased that our protest about the Commercial Television programme, "The Invisible Man" (PN last week), has resulted in a good deal of publicity in the Press, and many letters have been received from those who are concerned about some of these programmes.

The Labour Peace Fellowship is concerned about the propaganda in some radio and television programmes which is harmful to international understanding, and we invite readers to send reports on what they have heard or seen. Each letter will be considered by our National Council, and wherever possible these observations will be sent to the British Broadcasting Corporation or Independent Television. We shall also raise any complaints with our Members of Parliament.

Will you make your contribution to the cause of peace by writing to the authorities concerned, to the Press, or to us, as we feel that these views will make an impact on the future policy of the broadcasting authorities?—**DENIS BRIAN (Secretary, Labour Peace Fellowship), 24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4.**

Anti-war films

THOUGH as a film critic I see every film exhibited in the West End, I see no signs that "anti-war films are in fashion," as Alan Lovell alleges (in PN last week). This is probably because, unlike Alan, I do not consider as "anti-war" the padre in "Yesterday's Enemy" who asks for a rifle and never condemns war! Indeed, the padre accepts war and participation in the

war machine by becoming a padre, as does every such chaplain unless by his sermons to and conversations with fighting men he openly condemns war as anti-Christian.

In common with a non-Christian war correspondent in "Yesterday's Enemy," the padre protests against shooting civilians as "a war crime," not seeing that war itself is the greatest contemporary crime. The British captain, who is as ruthless as the Japanese major, exposes the sentimentality of those who think they can humanise war. He tells the padre (and some of us): "You don't mind a bomber pilot pressing a button and killing innocent people in cold blood. What you can't bear is to see innocent people shot."

The captain's ruthlessness is the logic not only of jungle warfare but of nuclear war and all war. As a pacifist I believe our enemy is war and all weapons of war, and that a film like "The Bridge Over the River Kwai" which makes a hero of the leading officer (Alec Guinness) perpetuates the legend of the glory of war and makes war mentally acceptable to audiences.—**RONALD S. MALLONE, 141 Woolacombe Rd., London, S.E.3.**

S. African cricket team

CAN I make a suggestion through your columns of a boycott of the South African cricket team due to tour the British Isles next summer.

I have recently returned from a two-year stay in the Rhodesias and I hear from an African friend that: "The African sees in this victory (the Tory election triumph) the determined consolidation of the Federal Scheme and the perpetuation of European rule in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland." Can we not show such Africans that those of us who care about the lot of the African in Southern Africa are willing not only to boycott the goods of these countries but the representatives of the countries in the world of sport—unless the representatives are chosen on a non-racial basis.

Recently the Africans of Southern and Central Africa have been further assured that British people have closed hearts and stunted consciences; can we not redeem ourselves a little by making an example of this all-white South African cricket team?

I would suggest more than boycotts and protest demonstrations. I suggest we PREVENT the South Africans playing at all, and that we believers in direct action set about planning for such action. It should not be difficult. A few determined people

which we in the pacifist movement have been dedicated for a generation.

It is a pity that, given the sincerity of the Soviet proposals, the peace movements are going to leave it to the Communists and the fellow travellers to proclaim the practical steps to peace.

We invite those who would welcome a more actively enthusiastic welcome to these proposals to communicate with—**WALLACE HANCOCK, Secretary, Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ, Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.**

CND and unilateralism

THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament would be completely unnecessary if it abandoned its unilateral position, because every political Party and most people support the idea of multilateralism, but that does not mean that it will automatically succeed. The CND must continue to campaign for Britain to give a lead by unilateral nuclear disarmament and not allow anyone to deflect it from its main purpose.

—**P. H. SMITH, Sec., Eccles Group, CND, 34 Half Edge Lane, Eccles, Manchester.**

BBC broadcasts

THE future of socialism in Western Europe will be discussed in the BBC's Home Service on Thursday, December 3, at 9.15 p.m. In the international programme, "Radio Link," Mr. Gaitskell in London will be linked with Herr Fritz Erler (member of the Executive of the German Social Democratic Party) in Bonn and a leading political personality in Stockholm.

In Britain the Labour Party has lost three General Elections in succession; in Western Germany the Social Democrats have failed to form a government since the foundation of the Federal Republic; in Sweden, however, the social democrats have been in power for many years without a break.

New PN premises

THE Rev. Tom Willis, whose gift of £5,700 made the purchase possible, opened the new Peace News offices and bookshop in London last Saturday by unveiling a commemorative plaque.

The meeting room was packed to capacity with people associated with the work of the paper and representatives of organisations which the paper served.

Fenner Brockway, MP, brought greetings from the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, Arthur Goss, from the Friends Peace Committee, Sybil Morrison from the Peace Pledge Union, and Max Parker from the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other Christian pacifist bodies.

The Chairman of the Board of Peace News, Vera Brittain, presented the Editor with a cheque for £500 to be used in promoting the sales of the paper.

100 A YEAR JAILED

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors in Britain are still going to prison at the rate of nearly 100 a year at least, and sentences of 12 and 18 months imprisonment are occurring.

Since the end of World War II 9,000 young men have registered as conscientious objectors and the percentage for 1958 was the highest since September, 1941.

Tribunals are more unsympathetic than they have ever been: 46.5 per cent of the applications were dismissed by the local Tribunals in 1958, the highest annual percentage ever recorded (figures for 1916-1919 are not available).

These facts were given in the Southampton and District PPU Newsletter by Bryan Reed, secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, publication of which coincided with a reunion of COs in the town attended by between 50 and 60 people.

● Frank, honest, a biography

that isn't draped in fig leaves

future policy of the broadcasting authorities?—**DENIS BRIAN** (Secretary, Labour Peace Fellowship), 24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4.

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Recently the Africans of Southern and Central Africa have been further assured that British people have closed hearts and stunted consciences; can we not redeem ourselves a little by making an example of this all-white South African cricket team?

I would suggest more than boycotts and protest demonstrations. I suggest we PREVENT the South Africans playing at all, and that we believers in direct action set about planning for such action. It should not be difficult. A few determined people could remove stumps from a cricket pitch, hold up play by taking strolls in front of the sight screens and across the pitch. A little thought about the method of preventing a team of cricketers picked from only one race in South Africa playing at all is needed, but it could be done.—**R. J. WESTALL**, St. Mawes, Cornwall.

Khrushchev proposals

TWO months have elapsed since Khrushchev announced a plan for Total Disarmament in four years, including the elimination of War Offices and the paraphernalia of war.

My Committee has asked me to write expressing their concern that the response of the Peace Movement as well as the political movement has been negligible. We gratefully acknowledge, with complete surprise, that almost the only important welcome given to the Khrushchev announcement has been from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

We have never seen the need to support Disarmament Conferences dealing with partial disarmament, because at best they have merely aimed at reducing the war potential to a more economical level. But Total Disarmament is an entirely different story.

We see in these proposals a more realistic approach to peace than has been made for years, especially as they have received the support of over 40 nations in the United Nations Assembly. When National leaders see that modern war means extinction it is logical that they will see the uselessness of weapons.

In this situation unilateral disarmament is as outdated as "banning the bomb." Universal disarmament by agreement is obviously a vastly superior project, if it can be obtained; it short-circuits the idealist propaganda and the strivings toward Utopia to

General Elections in succession; in Western Germany the Social Democrats have failed to form a government since the foundation of the Federal Republic; in Sweden, however, the social democrats have been in power for many years without a break.

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Marc Garcet, *Rue Istahelle, Eben-Emael, Belgique.*
Jacques Demaude, *Prison de Mons, Belgique.*

DENMARK

Laurids Larsen, *Store Rye, Astrup pr. Sindal, Denmark.*
There are 50 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.
Other Danish war resisters are in two alternative service camps. (See below.)

FRANCE

Prison de Metz, 31 rue du Cambout, Metz (Moselle), France:

Christian Berleux; Serge Bouillé; André Guyard; Georges Maufran; Daniel Miliani; Guido Miliani; Jean Pysma; Michel Terray.
Abbaye de Tanquant, par Fontevrault (Maine et Loire), France:

Robert Beugin; Roger Ducroux; Joseph Fioravanzo; Christian Labitte; Pierre Lorenzini; Yves Lorenzini; Dominique Rezer; Jean Posluszny.

Camp de Casabianda, par Aléria, Corsica:
Jacques Alexandre; Gilbert Bleiveis; Jean Dauvergne; Pierre Guyot; Alban Liechti; Pierre Michau; François Michel; Edgar Nehou; Michel Ré; Francis Renda; Jean-Marie Samson.

Centre Penitencier d'Alger, 2 rue Volland, Algerie:

Benjamin Colard; Leon Czerniak; Jean Louis Moritz; Rene Perez; Guy Pons; Roland Yvard.

Maison Arrêt de Rennes (I. et V.), 56 Bd. J. Cartier, France:

Jean Chenu; Michel Cochart; Henri Elsaesser.

Section Spéciale de Timfouchi, S.P. 87.374, (A.F.N.):
Jean Clavel; Lucien Fontenel; Paul

PRISONERS FOR PEACE

DECEMBER 1 is Prisoners for Peace Day, the day when war resisters, pacifists and defenders of human rights all over the world join together in sending Greeting Cards to those whose opposition to war has led to imprisonment at Christmas.

Readers may send Christmas or New Year cards to the names and addresses below, but should not include any message, apart from their own names and addresses on the cards.

Failure to observe this rule can result either in non-delivery of the card, or more seriously, prisoners being deprived of other correspondence from close relatives.

The postage rate for cards sent in unsealed envelopes from Britain to any part of the world is 2d. Printed rate air mail to USA is 8d. American readers: to Europe, 15 cents for ½ oz. by air; 3 cents for 1 oz. by surface mail. American inland: 5 cents air, 3 cents surface.

The Honour Roll issued by the War Resisters' International this year is unique. For the first time it includes men (and one woman) in prison for their protest against the erection of rocket bases.

But their sentences are short, and served in "comfortable" prisons, by comparison with the 200 or more un-named Yugoslavs serving sentences of up to 15 years for refusal of military service.

Persecution knows no frontiers and Jehovah's Witnesses are among the un-named religious objectors known to be in prison in very many countries associated with the NATO and Warsaw military pacts.

Prisoners for Peace Day this year has the active support of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation who have called to "Christians everywhere" to offer prayers for both the courageous men in prison and those responsible for their imprisonment. They have issued a booklet "Prayers for Prisoners" (price 2d. from 185 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1).

Last year some prisoners received up to 1,000 cards. Readers or groups unable to send to all the names on the list are reminded that of those whose names are known the Italian and then the French war resisters are perhaps the most isolated from sympathy and organised support.

The prison addresses are in italics and where a number of men are in one prison the addresses come first. Where only one man is in prison his name comes first followed by the prison address.

Jean Biglione, *7 Villa Henri, Romainville (Seine), France.*

Jacques Blondel, *14 rue Eugène Gathe, Goussainville (S. et O.), France.*

Etienne Boulanger, *Camp d'Ecouves, par Toul (M. et M.), France.*

René Boyer, *Prison d'Amiens (Somme), France.*

François Chaneka, *23 rue Surcon, Bordeaux (Gironde), France.*

Marcel Cochart, *62 rue des Minimes, Montmille-sur-Saône, (Ain), France.*

Jean Compte, *Chez Mme. Mathieu, 32 Bd. V. Hugo, Cachan (Seine), France.*

Marcel Filon, *27 Avenue de la Concorde, Seuran (S. et O.), France.*

Jean-Claude Francois, *Prison de Lisieux, 15 Bd. Oraismes, (Calvados), France.*

Michel Guittard, *39 rue des Peupliers, Paris 13e, France*

Jean-Paul Hoeberlé, *12 rue de Bretagne,*

GREAT BRITAIN

Desmond M. A. Brett, *H.M. Prison, East-church, Isle of Sheppey, Kent.*

Joseph T. Bunyan, *11 Stokesley Street, London, W.12, England.*

Rex Dunham, *No. 891, H.M. Prison, St. Loyes Street, Bedford, England.*

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

HOLLAND

Gerrit Buurman, *Apeldoorn, Mariastraat 80, Holland.*

Gjalt Van Der Meulen, *Dokkum, Professor Huibertstraat 5, Holland.*

Klaas Van 't Veer, *Zaandam, Westzanerdijk 95, Holland.*

There are 50-60 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

ITALY

Arnaldo Quaglia, *Strada Circonvallazione, Castellamonte, (Torino), Italia.*

Angelo Rainero, *Via Savona No. 36, Asti, Italia.*

Ignazio Teppati, *Manicomio Criminale, Aversa (Napoli), Italia.*

Giacomo Timoncini, *Via G. C. Ceccarelli 30, Caiossi, Forli, Italia.*

Giuseppe Timoncini, *Via G. C. Ceccarelli, 30, Caiossi, Forli, Italia.*

SWITZERLAND

Louis Fröhlicher, *Prison "Saint-Antoine," Geneva, Switzerland.*

USA

Federal Prison, Springfield, Mo., USA:
John Decker; Charles Edgar Garrison; Bradford Lyttle.

Federal Prison, Sandstone, Minnesota, USA:

Ammon Hennacy; Arthur Harvey.

Federal Prison, Allentown, Pennsylvania, USA:

Karl Meyer; Jacob Weaver Nolt.

Richard G. Keene, *Fed. Correctional Institution, Tucson, Arizona, USA.*

Don Fortenberry, *Federal Prison Camp, Seagoville, Texas, USA.*

Ed Lazar, *Federal Prison, Danbury, Connecticut, USA.*

Marjorie Swann, *Federal Prison, Alderson, West Virginia, USA.*

Marvin Tamarkin, *Federal Correctional Inst., Tallahassee, Florida, USA.*

Joe S. Bonntreager, *Fed. Correctional Institution, Milan, Mich., USA.*

William A. Karriakin, *Fed. Correctional Institution, Terminal Island, California, USA.*

There are 81 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

In alternative service camps

Collective greetings may be sent to war resisters who are in the following alternative service camps.

DENMARK

1. Talsmaendene, Gribskovlejren, Marum, Danmark.

2. Talsmaendene, Kompedallejren, Engesvang, Danmark.

HOLLAND

1. Hylke Hoekstra, *Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen, Woensel, Eindhoven, Holland.*

2. Dienstweigerarskamp, Vledder, Holland.

NORWAY

Camp de Casabianda, par Aléria, Corsica.
Jacques Alexandre; Gilbert Bleiveis; Jean Dauvergne; Pierre Guyot; Alban Liechti; Pierre Michau; François Michel; Edgar Nehou; Michel Ré; Francis Renda; Jean-Marie Samson.

Centre Penitencier d'Alger, 2 rue Volland, Algerie:

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Maison Arrêt de Rennes (I. et V.), 56 Bd. J. Cartier, France:

Jean Chenu; Michel Cochard; Henri Elsaesser.

Section Spéciale de Timfouchi, S.P. 87.374, (A.F.N.):

Jean Clavel; Lucien Fontenel; Paul Lefebvre.

Prison de Fresnes, (Seine), France:

Henri Cheyrouse, Cellule 298. 3eme Division;

Jean Filon, 19.929 Iere Division;
Serge Magnien, Cte. 21.177-CNO, Cellule 27.

Prison de Loos, Les Lille (Nord), France;
Georges Jourdan; Serge Kesteloot.

Maison Cellulaire de Nice (A.M.), 1 rue de la Gendarmerie, France:

Jean-Bernard Moreau; Henri Sikora.

Centrale de Fontevault (M. et Loire), France:

Jacques Celer; André Cesbron.

Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux (Gironde), France:
M. Chereau; Serge Scatambulo.

Prison des Beaumettes, par Marseille (B.d Rh.), France:

Pierre Brinio; Claude Rault.

Goussainville (S. et O.), France.
Etienne Boulanger, Camp d'Ecrouves, par Toul (M. et M.), France.

René Boyer, Prison d'Amiens (Somme), France.

François Chaneka, 23 rue Surcon, Bordeaux (Gironde), France.

Marcel Cochard, 62 rue des Minimes, Montmille-sur-Saône, (Ain), France.

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Michel Guittard, 39 rue des Peupliers, Paris 13e, France

Jean-Paul Hoeberlé, 12 rue de Bretagne, Mulhouse (Ht. Rhin), France.

Jean-Pierre Lalloux, Hautond, par Vic-sur-Artais, (Pas de Calais), France.

Jean le Meur, Prison de Constantine, Algerie.

René Nazon, Prison de Nimes, 1 rue des Rampes du Et. Claude (Gard), France.

Pierré Perron, 22 rue du Général Leclerc, Chevilly, Larue (Sein), France.

Georges Personnaz, à Moirans, (Isère), France.

Charles Phul, 52 Avenue du Docteur Jean, à Saintes, (Charente Maritime), France.

Richard Przybylski, 6 rue de la Ferme, à St. Denis (Seine), France.

Jean Santerre, 12 rue de Bretagne, Mulhouse (Ht. Rhin), France.

Georges Termignon, chez Mme. Fabre, 8 Passage Dumas, Kouba, Alger, Algerie.

René Val, à Maurecourt, par St. Quentin (Aisne), France.

Jean Vendart, Prison de Ney, à Toul (M. et Moselle), France.

Claude Voisin, Prison de Tulle (Corrèze), France.

Joseph T. Bunyan, 11 Stokeley Street, London, W.12, England.

Rex Dunham, No. 891, H.M. Prison, St. Loyes Street, Bedford, England.

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

HOLLAND

Gerrit Buurman, Apeldoorn, Mariastraat 80, Holland.

Gjalt Van Der Meulen, Dokkum, Professor Huijbertstraat 5, Holland.

Klaas Van 'T Veer, Zaandam, Westzaner-dijk 95, Holland.

There are 50-60 Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

ITALY

Caserma Sant'Angelo, Castello Angioino, Primo reparto, Gaeta, Italia:

Renzo Pasi; Rolando Larenzini Piperno; Enrico Zaccherini.

Caserma Sant'Angelo, Castello Angioino, Terzo reparto, Gaeta, Italia:

Fernando De Stephanis; Antonio Di Nardo; Guerrino Di Furia; Turio Franceschetti.

Antonion Borgo, Via Rovereto 75, Schio (Vicenza), Italia.

Alberto Cortini, presso Cortini Italiana, Via S. Agelli 6, Ronco Forli, Italia.

Giuseppe Gazzotti, Via Mittarelli 32, Faeuza, Ravenna, Italia.

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1. Talsmaendene, Gribskovlejren, Marum, Danmark.

2. Talsmaendene, Kompedallejren, Engesvang, Danmark.

HOLLAND

1. Hylke Hoekstra, Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen, Woensel, Eindhoven, Holland.

2. Dienstweigerarskamp, Vledder, Holland.

NORWAY

1. Sivilarbeiderne i Havnas Leir, c/o Berge Furre, N.G.O., St. Olavs gate 32, Oslo, Norge.

2. Sivilarbeiderne, Hustad Leir, Farstad, Norge.

There are Jehovah's Witnesses in prison. Their addresses are not known.

SWEDEN

1. Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Asbro, Sverige.

2. Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Sunnans, Gävle 1, Sverige.

3. Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Universitetets skogsförvaltning, Uppsala, Sverige.

4. Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Revingehed, Sverige.

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Flashback to 1958

Danish radio announced "December 1 is being observed throughout the world as Prisoners for Peace Day."

In Oslo, Norway, Abbe Pierre addressed a rally.

UN Headquarters were visited by a delegation asking that conscientious objection be officially recognised by the UN as a Human Right.

French and Yugoslav Embassies and Legations in many countries received dozens of protests over the treatment of French COs and the Yugoslav Nazarenes and a demonstration was organised in London by the Peace Pledge Union.

HOW TRUE PEACE COULD COME

For an act of civil disobedience at the US Missile base at Omaha Marjorie Swann is undergoing six months' imprisonment. Her husband, who received a five year sentence as a CO during World War II, is looking after their four children aged 13, 11, 6 and 2.

The following is from Marjorie Swann's appeal "to my fellow Americans" made just before she was sentenced:

IT is part of the law of the universe that ends and means must be consistent. True peace cannot come by means of war. We will have peace when we are ready to pay as much for it as we pay for war, with sacrifice as soldiers, wives and parents sacrifice in war, with all the energy and creative talent which is now perverted to plans for mass destruction, with humility and the replacing of our national pride with pride in the human race.

I know many of you ask why I take this action of deliberately violating an

order of the United States government. Particularly, why a mother who has the responsibility of raising four children? Do I not feel guilty in disgracing them by going to prison, and in leaving them without my care for a number of months?

I can only say that the guilt I may feel now, and the pain at leaving my husband and children, is nothing compared to the guilt and pain I will feel if I am still alive—at seeing my children blasted to death by an H-bomb; die slowly of radiation sickness; wander starving and in rags down a cratered road as did the children of Korea; or become robots in a militarised and totalitarian state which must obliterate freedom in order to survive.

Look at your children and your grandchildren. Think what is in store for them. Accept your responsibility for their future. That is what my friends and I ask we go to prison. If you will try to save the children of all the world, prison is a small price for us to pay.

CLASSIFIED

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EXHIBITIONS

"Water and boats" paintings by Dennis James. Comedy Gallery, Oxenden St., Haymarket. December 1—22. Mon.-Fri., 10—6 p.m. Sats., 10—1 p.m.

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LITERATURE

CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 12s., 12 months £1 3s. 6d. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

HATS OFF TO PROGRESS. Verses by John Nibb. 1s. 3d. post paid from BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

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Monckton Commission: Pitfall for Labour

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

This article went to press before the Labour Shadow Cabinet had reached a decision on its attitude to the Monckton Commission.

THIS week the Labour Party will probably decide whether to appoint members on the Commission, under the Chairmanship of Lord Monckton, which is to consider the future of the Central African Federation as a preliminary to the constitutional conference which is to be held next year.

Three issues have to be weighed. The first is the scope of the Commission. Will the terms of reference permit consideration of the right of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to secede from the Federation and to make recommendations about this?

Secondly, the composition of the Commission. Does it justify the confidence that the findings will reflect the will of the population of Central Africa, the overwhelming majority of whom are African?

Thirdly, the effect of participation on African psychology. This will be decided not only by the scope and composition of the Commission, but by the present position in Central Africa.

Terms of reference

Consider these three issues in turn:

1. The terms of reference of the Commission, as at present announced, are limited to the Preamble of the Act of Parliament which established the Federation. This ruled out the amalgamation of the three territories—Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia—or the withdrawal of British Protectorate powers in Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia without the consent of the inhabitants.

But it did not contemplate the secession of any territory from the Federation.

2. The Commission is to be composed of 26 members:

A British Chairman,

Six Privy Councillors from the British Parliament (three of them from the Opposition).

Four independent members from Britain. Two members from the Commonwealth.

Thirteen members to be appointed by the Central African Governments, including five Africans.

There are to be only five Africans among the 26 members and these are to be

to satisfy the African population of Central Africa.

3. There is no hope that the national movements in Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias or their leaders will place any confidence whatsoever in the Commission. They will regard it as an alien body without any right to decide the future of the seven million African people (compared with 250,000 whites) in the three territories.

Africans are utterly opposed to the continuation of the European-dominated Federation. Not only is Nyasaland still under a State of Emergency, but in all three territories many of their leaders are imprisoned.

It is possible that Dr. Banda and other leaders may give evidence. Dr. Banda is generally ready to tell anyone his views: he recently gave evidence to a Southern Rhodesian Commission, though he had a poor opinion of it. African evidence, if given, would certainly not imply African confidence.

Central Africa is occupied by the Whites and their Governments. The Africans will regard the Commission as an instrument of the Occupation.

Mr. Hugh Gaitskill, the leader of the Labour Party, has been discussing with Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister, both the terms of reference of the Commission and its composition, but it is difficult to see how they can be changed substantially. This would be possible only with the consent of Sir Roy Welensky and the Governments in Central Africa, and they will not make any real concessions.

It is possible that the terms of reference may be stretched so that members of the Commission may be able to suggest some modification of the present form of Federation.



But it would seem that they will have to accept the principle of Federation and its continuance.

It is extremely unlikely that there can be any change in the basis of membership of the Commission. The only ground for manoeuvre would be in the personnel of the Labour members, the independent members from Britain and the Commonwealth members. The British membership might include a small minority team sympathetic to African aspirations.

Non-white participation?

Will Ghana or India be invited to nominate one of the two members from the Commonwealth? Will they agree, even if invited, to become associated with such a weighted Commission? If there is any non-white Commonwealth member, he is more likely to be from Malaya, where the Government is less radical.

Whatever the choice, a few acceptable members could not effect the fundamentally unrepresentative character of the Commission.

I think this is a fair representation of the three issues which the Labour Party must consider. It will be argued that if they do not participate they will be responsible for intensifying the critical situation in Central Africa and worsening racial tensions. It will be argued that their subsequent criticism of the British Government's policy will be discounted because they have not accepted an opportunity to examine the situation on the spot. It will be argued that they can issue a minority report.

These three arguments fall before the overriding fact that participation in the Commission must have the disastrous effect of destroying the trust of the African people. So far from decreasing racial antagonism, Labour membership of the Commission would, I fear, increase it.

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PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, W.1. Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, Myrtle Solomon, Harry Marsh. PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THE VEDANTA MOVEMENT

Swami Avyaktananda

THE SEER AND THE SEEN

at the branch centre, 13 Elsenham Street, Southfields, S.W.18.

Friday, November 27, 7.30 p.m. and on

A NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

at Vegetarian Restaurant, 12 Earls Court Road, W.8. Saturday, November 28, 7.30 p.m.

All welcome.

of any territory from the Federation.

2. The Commission is to be composed of 26 members:

A British Chairman,

Six Privy Councillors from the British Parliament (three of them from the Opposition).

Four independent members from Britain.

Two members from the Commonwealth.

Thirteen members to be appointed by the Central African Governments, including five Africans.

There are to be only five Africans among the 26 members and these are to be appointed by the European Governments of Central Africa. Among the eleven British members only three are to be selected from the Opposition (the Labour Party and perhaps the Liberal Party) and these must be Privy Councillors.

Clearly such a Commission cannot hope

DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, November 27

LONDON, E.C.2: 12.30 and 1.30 p.m. Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. "Judaism & World Affairs." Rev. Leslie H. Hardman. Adm. free. NPC.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St. Local Tribunal for COs. Public adm.

Saturday, November 28

BIRMINGHAM: Membs. & friends having arts. for Jumble Sale contact L. Mallows, 91 Farren Rd., B'ham 31. Priory 4918. WMA & PPU.

CRAWLEY: 3.30 p.m. Northgate Community Hut, Barnfield Rd., Northgate. Current Affairs: Stuart Morris. PPU.

CRAWLEY: 7.30 p.m. Northgate Community Hut, Barnfield Rd., Northgate. Open Forum. Panel: Cllr. V. W. Bell, Rev. Taylor, Minnie Pallister, Stuart Morris. Chair: Bryan Reed. CPF & PPU.

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m. 134 Letchworth Rd. Meeting. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.15: 8-11.30 p.m. Ballroom of the Railway Hotel, Putney High St. Grand Social Evening. Adm. 2s. 6d. CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2.45 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. To support "Prisoners for Peace" Day, Parade & leaflet distribution to Manette St. (Foyle's), 4 p.m. Open Air Mtg.: Sybil Morrison, Myrtle Solomon, Harry Marsh. PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. Victoria Hall. Christmas Fayre—Bring & Buy. Refreshments. PPU.

Sunday, November 29

BRIZE NORTON TO OXFORD MARCH: 10 a.m. USAF/RAF H-patrol base, Brize Norton. One day March. Buses leave Friends Mtg. Ho., 43 St. Giles at 9 a.m. Oxford Area CND.

Monday, November 30

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

HASTINGS: 7.30 p.m. Rosalind Hotel, Welling-ton Sq. "From Hiroshima to the Summit—and Then". Stuart Morris, Max Parker. PPU & FoR.

an instrument of the Occupation.

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the Labour Party, has been discussing with Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister, both the terms of reference of the Commission and its composition, but it is difficult to see how they can be changed substantially. This would be possible only with the consent of Sir Roy Welensky and the Governments in Central Africa, and they will not make any real concessions.

It is possible that the terms of reference may be stretched so that members of the Commission may be able to suggest some modification of the present form of Federation. It is possible that members may be permitted to record the strength of opinion in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in favour of secession. They may be permitted to recommend that the constitutional conference be postponed until there are African majorities in the Legislatures of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public adm.

Tuesday, December 1

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. "Hillcrest", Windmill Hill. Prisoners for Peace Day. Sending Christmas Cards to COs in jail. PPU.

Wednesday, December 2

BASILDON: 8 p.m. Timber Log School. Public Meeting: Dr. Alex Comfort. CND.

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends' Institute, Frederick St. "United Nations at Work". Denis Barritt. FoR.

BRIDGWATER: 7.45 p.m. 5 King Sq. "Fellowship, Reconciliation, Peace". Vincent Burston. PPU.

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m. Mill Ln. University Film show: "Children of Hiroshima." CND.

SOUTHAMPTON: 3-9 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. "Christmas Fayre." Stalls, Films, Buffet. PPU, FoR.

Thursday, December 3

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. AGM. E.10 & E.11 PPU Group.

Friday, December 4

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. Peace Forum. Eileen Fletcher, Stuart Morris, Rev. Stacey, Leslie Smith. Chair: Sybil Morrison. All welcome. SJPC.

Saturday, December 5

ALTON: 3 p.m. "Hillcrest". Mtg. PPU.

LONDON, N.6: 3 p.m. "Syskon" College, Millfield Ln., Highgate West Hill. Fred & Betty Dallas sing folk songs and ballads. Collection for La Marsa Fund. Refreshments. IVS.

LONDON, S.E.21: 2.30-9.30 p.m. Kingswood Ho., Kingswood Estate. "Day School": analysis/discussion on propagation of ND in the community. Mervyn Jones, Dr. Lowy. Adm. 2s. Youth 1s. 42 Tyrrell Rd., S.E.22. Dulwich CND.

Sunday, December 6

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 3 p.m. 17 Hill Rd. (nr. Stn.). "Nuclear Disarmament & Pacifism": Michael Lines. PPU.

Monday, December 7

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. "The Cross and the Bomb?" Canon Collins, Rev. Hickman Johnson. Chair: H. G. Wood. FoR.

Tuesday, December 8

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. 4 Kings Pk. Rd. Group Mtg. PPU.

consider. It will be argued that if they do not participate they will be responsible for intensifying the critical situation in Central Africa and worsening racial tensions. It will be argued that their subsequent criticism of the British Government's policy will be discounted because they have not accepted an opportunity to examine the situation on the spot. It will be argued that they can issue a minority report.

These three arguments fall before the overriding fact that participation in the Commission must have the disastrous effect of destroying the trust of the African people. So far from decreasing racial antagonism, Labour membership of the Commission would, I fear, increase it by making Africans feel that there is no section of the British people in whom they can have confidence. The best action, in my view, would be for Labour to send out an independent commission.

I think back to the Simon Commission which visited India in 1928. It was boycotted by the National Congress and everywhere it went vast crowds massed in the streets shouting "Go back, Simon."

Labour's membership of that Commission tragically undermined India's trust. We sank so low that a Labour Government in 1930 imprisoned Gandhi, Nehru and sixty thousand Indians. We did not recover goodwill until our recognition of India's right to independence in 1946.

We must not repeat in Central Africa the story of those tragic lost years.

PRISONERS FOR PEACE

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SAT. NOV. 28

ASSEMBLE 2.45 p.m.

OPEN-AIR MEETING

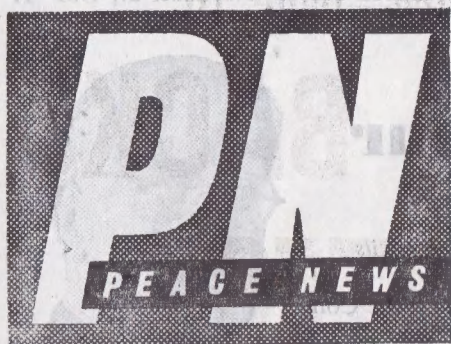
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OXFORD MARCH

STUDENTS from several Universities will join the nuclear disarmament march from Brize Norton H-bomb patrol base to Oxford this Sunday.

The march is sponsored by Oxford historian, A. J. P. Taylor, and organised by the Oxford Area Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

It was originally planned by the University CND, but was banned by the Proctors.

Two coachloads of marchers are expected from Cambridge University and one from Nottingham.

A large number of Oxford undergraduates are expected to "run the Proctorial gauntlet" and take part.

Marchers will be received on Saturday night at the Quakers' Meeting House in St. Giles, Oxford, from 7.0 p.m. to midnight. (Those seeking accommodation must bring their own sleeping bags.) Coaches will leave there the next morning at 9.0 for Brize Norton.

A ten-minute opening service outside the base will precede the march. Lunch will be at Witney from 12.30 to 1 p.m.; tea in Eynsham from 3.30 to 3.50. The march will then proceed via Botley (5.30) and arrive in St. Giles at 6.0 p.m.

A 24-hour vigil will be held at the base immediately before the march.

MICHAEL RANDLE

of the council of chiefs, called together specially to hear us.

Three hundred students at the University

Direct Action to challenge 'all the paraphernalia of security and secrecy'

PLAN TO PITCH TENTS ON MISSILE BASE

IT is imperative that we renew our efforts to bring home to the general public and the Government the peril in which we live today, and our determination that weapons of mass annihilation be no longer made or maintained in our name."

This is the appeal that the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War is making in its call to a radical protest at Harrington rocket base.

The aim of the protest, as reported in Peace News last week, will be to "reclaim" the area for peaceful uses.

The demonstrators plan to pitch tents on the disused airfield which surrounds the rocket base. After one or two days they will then try to scale the security fence and

enter the actual rocket site and establish a camp there.

Three things, says the Committee, may be achieved by such a protest:

- By camping on the rocket base the group will be demonstrating that this land should never have been taken over by the Government for such a lethal purpose.

- By entering the site they will be challenging all the paraphernalia of security and secrecy which surrounds nuclear war preparations—about which the general public have never been properly consulted.

- By scaling a high fence at some personal risk they will be demonstrating that they are prepared to cross all barriers, however seemingly insurmountable, that stand in the way of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain.

The Committee hopes that as many volunteers as possible will stay at the site for a full week.

"If a large number of men and women," says Direct Action, "are prepared to act in this way, many others in the country, we believe, may be encouraged to take action too."

"There must be direct action by many individuals if the real terrible meaning of the H-bomb is to become clear to people. Symbolic demonstrations of this sort can show that the problem of nuclear disarmament is not so gigantic that ordinary people cannot tackle it."

Complex of five

The Harrington rocket base, which is

The Committee was able to write to 17 local people for money when eventually Herbert Ingall and Tom Godfrey threw up their jobs at the Polebrook site.

All possible contact was made with local trade unionists—with the result that the Committee was able to discuss the campaign with 20 trade union branches and trades councils.

Half of them passed resolutions in support of what Direct Action was doing.

Several trade unions were officially represented at the demonstration on the airfield at Polebrook rocket base, which was the culmination of the campaign.

Other demonstrations held during the summer were a week-long round-the-clock picket at Harrington, and a non-violent attempt, by a small, mostly local team, to "occupy" the Great Dalby site by camping on it at a very early stage in its construction.

Liable to arrest

The Committee now points out that anyone going to Harrington on January 2 could be liable to arrest for "obstructing the police in the course of their duty," and to charges under the Conspiracy or the Official Secrets Acts.

Volunteers may, therefore, be imprisoned.

"It is extremely likely," says the Committee, "that the authorities will make every effort to avoid arresting anyone, in order to avoid publicity (as is suggested by the police attitudes during our summer campaigns). They may very well be prepared to remove demonstrators bodily from the site time and again, perhaps for days on end, rather than make any arrests."

The Committee is trying to arrange "rudimentary" accommodation in London for anyone needing it for the volunteers' meeting on Saturday and Sunday, December 19-20 at which various aspects of the

S. African boycott grows

SUPPORT is growing for the boycott of South African goods, it was announced in London on Tuesday.

The Boycott Movement (200 Gower St., N.W.1) announced that immediate aims in Britain are to protest at three of the most vicious aspects of apartheid: the Treason Trials and the banning of leaders, the extension of "pass" laws and the poverty wages of Africans.

A London conference on January 19 will bring together delegates of many widely different organisations.

● FROM
PAGE ONE

All African Trade Union Federation that met here last week.

We were received with enthusiasm and assured of the support of the Labour

base will precede the march. Lunch will be at Witney from 12.30 to 1 p.m.; tea in Eynsham from 3.30 to 3.50. The march will then proceed via Botley (5.30) and arrive in St. Giles' at 6.0 p.m.

A 24-hour vigil will be held at the base immediately before the march.

MICHAEL RANDLE

of the council of chiefs, called together specially to hear us.

Three hundred students at the University College of Legon, Ghana's latest and biggest University, which has not yet been completed, heard Francis Hoyland and me talk about the project and saw films of the Aldermaston March and the effects of radioactive fall-out on Japanese fishermen after the 1954 American H-test in the Pacific. Great interest was shown and people were still jumping up to ask questions when the chairman closed the meeting. Other meetings at schools and colleges are being arranged.

Meeting ordinary people in the streets and in their own homes has been one of the most important aspects of the campaign.

One evening we spent wandering round the Jamestown section of Accra, past groups of people squatting beside their kerosene lamps or lying asleep on the ground in the warm African night. The lamps threw a pale gold light on the sleek, dark skins. People would call out to us as we passed; then someone would come to shake hands with us and soon a knot of interested people would gather round to ply us with questions. When they found out who we were there would be another round of shaking hands.

Major task

The tests affect not only Ghana but the whole of Africa, and a major task of the protest team is to rally the support of important groups throughout the continent. A statement and letter calling for a national day of prayer and protest, if possible to coincide with the team's entry into French Upper Volta, and for pickets, poster parades and mass meetings has been sent to opposition and protest groups in 21 African countries. More important still, Bayard Rustin and I received invitations from Mr. Myer, General Secretary of the Ghana TUC, to address a plenary session of the

vicious aspects of apartheid, the Treason Trials and the banning of leaders, the extension of "pass" laws and the poverty wages of Africans.

A London conference on January 19 will bring together delegates of many widely different organisations.

All African Trade Union Federation that met here last week.

We were received with enthusiasm and assured of the support of the Labour Movement in Africa for our project.

We also had private talks with Mr. Oginga Odinga, president of the Kenya Independence Movement, of which his close associate, Mr. Tom Mboya, is General Secretary, and with other important African leaders in Accra for the conference.

Two aspects

It is clear now that our campaign here has two distinct though related aspects. The first is to present a serious and direct moral challenge to the French authorities.

This implies a well-thought-out strategy by the protest team (by no means simple in a situation where distances are so vast, communications so difficult, and the number of possible reactions by the French authorities almost unlimited), and secondly a really well-founded expedition that is obviously capable of crossing the Sahara and determined to do so unless physically prevented by the authorities.

The second aspect—that of rallying African opinion against all nuclear weapons—may prove in the long run even more important.

History has provided us with a situation where public opinion in Africa is overwhelmingly on our side (unlike the situation in Britain and the USA). This strong public feeling is motivated not by some abstract idealism but by a sense of the real danger that the test represents coupled with resentment against yet another instance of imperialist disregard for African opinion.

To the extent that this protest, in which Africans themselves will make up the largest group of participants and play a leading role, forges this feeling into a clear and determined opposition to all weapons and policies that threaten the dignity and life of man, it will have succeeded.

women," says Direct Action, "are prepared to act in this way, many others in the country, we believe, may be encouraged to take action too.

"There must be direct action by many individuals if the real terrible meaning of the H-bomb is to become clear to people. Symbolic demonstrations of this sort can show that the problem of nuclear disarmament is not so gigantic that ordinary people cannot tackle it."

Complex of five

The Harrington rocket base, which is about four miles from Rothwell, Northants, is one of a complex of five Thor rocket sites in the East Midlands. The others are at North Luffenham (Rutland), Polebrook (near Peterborough), Great Dalby (near Melton Mowbray) and Folkingham (near Sleaford, Lincs.).

Throughout the summer Direct Action conducted a campaign in the area, concentrating on Harrington. "It therefore seems the most suitable site for a non-violent protest," says the Committee.

"It is well located for a national demonstration, being right in the centre of England."

The aim of the summer campaign was to "arouse people in the region to oppose the missile sites, and to persuade workers on them to quit."

Varied activities included leafleting and canvassing in the towns and villages, holding open-air meetings and poster parades, and from time to time picketing the bases themselves.

Contracting out

As well as asking the workers on the sites to leave their jobs, the Committee called on local contractors with the same request, and collected signatures for a petition to the main contractors, Monk and Co. of Warrington. The petition was presented to the General Manager by members of the Macclesfield Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group.

The Committee found out all it could about alternative work for builders in the area, and so were able to persuade one or two men who came to apply for jobs at Harrington to go off and look for other work. Sympathetic people were asked by canvassers to pledge sums of money to help any worker who decided to quit his job on conscientious grounds.

Volunteers may, therefore, be imprisoned.

"It is extremely likely," says the Committee, "that the authorities will make every effort to avoid arresting anyone, in order to avoid publicity (as is suggested by the police attitudes during our summer campaigns). They may very well be prepared to remove demonstrators bodily from the site time and again, perhaps for days on end, rather than make any arrests."

The Committee is trying to arrange "rudimentary" accommodation in London for anyone needing it for the volunteers' meeting on Saturday and Sunday, December 19-20, at which various aspects of the demonstration will be discussed.

Quaker welcome

All demonstrators who can possibly manage it are urged to be at Wellingborough for the night of Friday, January 1. The Committee has been offered the use of Wellingborough Quakers' Meeting House for overnight accommodation.

Meanwhile members of the Committee are discussing the implications of the demonstration with as many sympathetic groups as possible. Requests for speakers are flowing steadily into its office at 344, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4 (STAMFORD HILL 7062). Volunteers for the project are asked to contact the Committee at once.

... and at Omaha

The three American missile base protestors at Omaha, Nebraska, who pleaded not guilty were last week given the same treatment as their colleagues received in the summer—maximum sentences of six month's jail and a \$500 fine each. They are out on bail pending appeal.

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